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THE SERVANT OF ALL



WALTER BAGEHOT

THE SERVANT OF ALL
PAGES FROM THE FAMILY, SOCIAL
AND POLITICAL LIFE OF MY FATHER
JAMES WILSON

TWENTY YEARS OF MID-VICTORIAN
LIFE

BY
EMILIE I. BARRINGTON

VOL. II

*WITH ILLUSTRATIONS*¹

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THE SERVANT OF ALL

CHAPTER XVIII

WALTER BAGEHOT

THE question affecting the control and management of Banks, which arose in 1856, led to one of the most momentous and happiest events in my father's life—namely the advent into the family of Walter Bagehot.

His first visit is recounted in the "Life of Walter Bagehot" as follows: "It was late in the afternoon of 24 January, 1857, that two of my sisters and I were walking in the woods of Claverton Manor. We had struck by a smaller pathway into the woods on the right leading down the hill to a stream. I remember the moment as if it were yesterday. We heard sounds of wheels. We agreed 'that Mr. Bag-hot must be arriving.' We did not know how to pronounce his name, and felt no interest in his arrival, so continued our walk. He had been introduced to my father as a 'young banker in the West of England' who wanted to write in the *Economist*, and he arrived that 24th of January at Claverton Manor to discuss banking and political economy with my father. Unfortunately the day before his arrival my father's mare 'Beauty' had shied, thrown him, and injured his leg, so he was confined to his bed. There was a dinner-party of neighbours and acquaintances from Bath that evening at which my father could not appear, but he interviewed Walter Bagehot in his room upstairs after dinner. One of the guests was the successor to the celebrated Beau Nash,

and was reigning in his stead as master of the ceremonies at the Bath balls. The fact that he, Walter Bagehot, coming to Claverton to discuss the solemnities of banking and political economy with the Secretary of the Treasury and proprietor of the *Economist*, should be confronted by a gentleman whose vocation was of so frivolous a character, tickled his humour greatly, he told us in after days. As two of my sisters and I were still in the schoolroom it was not till breakfast the next day that we first saw him. But then he made his mark. When breakfast was over, and our German governess had left the room, he turned big dark eyes quickly round upon us of the schoolroom, and exclaimed: 'Your governess is like an egg!' We at once saw she was like an egg! From that moment he rose in our eyes from the status of a political economist to that of a fellow-creature. He became one of us."

On the previous evening my sister had inspired at first sight interest and admiration—which deepened before long into an absorbing love and devotion.

What my father became to Walter Bagehot can be summed up by the few words written in a letter soon after Bagehot heard of my father's death. "I suffered deeply from Mr. Wilson's death, more than I could have supposed possible. It was in the strictest sense awful news—I have never felt the shock of any event so much." What Walter Bagehot became to my father can be recorded by words written to Bagehot by his own father. "The loss of such a man and such a parent is not easily borne, nor can its extent be at once comprehended. I think of you as a fellow-sufferer quite with his own children. Your affection for him I know, and his for you was always shown in a way not to be mistaken, and the relation of father and son seemed as complete as it could be." The comfort of having such a son-in-law undoubtedly enriched greatly the three last years of my father's life.

The result of Walter Bagehot's first visit to Claverton was the appearance of a series of letters in the *Economist*

signed "A Banker," the first dated February, 7, 1857, headed "The General Aspect of the Banking Question." This elicited the following from Lord Radnor :

"COLESHILL HOUSE.

"8th February, 1857.

"Lord Radnor trusts that 'A Banker' will not think him impertinent, if he offers the expression of his great satisfaction at the perusal of the letter in the *Economist* of last night.

"It appears to Lord Radnor that to treat the subject of the Bank Charter Bill in the mere pettifogging style of ——'s speech is simply ridiculous, and that the time is come when the question of Banking and of the right to issue notes, should be put on a fixed and intelligible basis consistent with the immutable principles of justice, public convenience, and political economy.

"Other questions of great importance both to the Bank and the community, ought (as it appears to Lord Radnor) now to be settled : *e.g.* its freedom from, or connexion with the Government : its duties whether due in the first place to the public, or to the proprietors of stocks : its functions as Banker of the State, and as Manager of the Public Debts Monopoly.

"Lord Radnor hopes that if 'A Banker' agrees with him, he will not omit to urge these topics in the same forcible manner. Lord Radnor has many apologies to offer for this intrusion."

Diary E. Feb. 25 : "I rode with Mr. Greg, who dined here, and also Mr. Bagehot."

March 27 : "Mr. Bagehot called."

31st : "Went to Claverton."

April 4 : "Mr. Bagehot and Mr. Greg came to stay."

7th : "Mr. Bagehot left."

25th : "Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. Greg, Mr. Bonamy Price, Mr. Bagehot and Mr. Hutton arrived."

27th : "Mr. Greg left. Papa arranged *Economist* matters with Mr. Hutton, and he, Mr. Bagehot, Julia

and I rode to Farleigh." (The arrangement was that Mr. Hutton should be Editor of the *Economist*.)

30th : "Papa went to Town. New Parliament met."

June 14 : (from London). "Dinner-party. Mme. Carpi, Mr. Fitzgerald, Sir William Somerville, Mr. O'Brien from Newfoundland, and Mr. Bagehot."

21st : "Dinner-party. M. de Parien, Sir Charles and Lady Eastlake, Dr. Waagen, Mr. and Mrs. Phipps (Lord Normanby's brother), Mr. and Mrs. Hall and Mr. Greg."

July 3 : "Mme. Mohl and Mr. Greg breakfasted with us and went with us to the Exhibition. Mr. Bagehot and Mr. Francis Gaulton called.

4th : "Mme. Carpi and we four went after luncheon to see the *Great Eastern* at Millbank. Met Mr. Bagehot who went with us to the *Agamemnon*, where we saw the Atlantic Telegraph cable coiled into her hold."

5th : "Dinner-party. Mme. Mohl, Mr. Greg, Mr. Bagehot and Mr. Ticknor."

In the "Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor," the American, this dinner is described :

"I dined with Mr. Wilson, a Member of Parliament, Financial Secretary of the Treasury ; owner and formerly Editor of the *Economist*, and the person on whom the Government depends on questions of banking and finance. He gets all his knowledge from documents and conversation, as Greg tells me—that is, at first-hand. He talks uncommonly well on all subjects ; strongly, and with a kind of original force that you rarely witness. He has a young wife, and three nice, grown-up daughters, who, with Greg, a barrister [Walter Bagehot], whose name I did not get—one other person and myself, filled up a very luxurious table, as far as eating and drinking are concerned. And who do you think that other person was ? Nobody less than Mme. Mohl ; who talked as fast and as amusingly as ever, full of good-natured kindness, with a little sub-acid as usual to give it a good flavour. The young ladies Greg accounts among the

most intelligent of his acquaintance, and they certainly talk French as few English girls can, for de Toqueville came in after dinner, and we all changed language at once."

July 9 : "Mamma, Julia and I to the Queen's Ball. King of the Belgians, Princess Charlotte, Duke and Duchess de Montpensier and Prince of Prussia there."

11th : "News of the desertion of 30,000 Sepoys in India."

12th : "Sir Colin Campbell started at a day's notice as Commander-in-Chief in India. Mme. Mohl, Ida, Mr. Carr, Mr. Wylie, Mr. Hutton and Mr. Bagehot to dinner."

18th : "Papa only came home at 5 A.M. ; the House sat till 4.30, dividing on Lord John's new Jew Bill ; negatived its introduction. Papa and Zoë to Lady Palmerston's."

22nd : "Mme. Mohl came to tea and took Ida, Zoë and me to see Ristori in Macbeth, her husband having given her his box."

23rd : "Ida, Matilda and Julia went to the House of Commons, and heard Papa speak on the Civil Service Superannuation Abatement. Mr. Hutton met them at the door and took them to the Ladies' Gallery. Papa, Mamma, Matilda and Zoë to a party at Lady Palmerston's. Queen of Holland there."

August 1 : "Papa, Mamma, Julia and I drove to Kew Gardens to meet Mr. Shelley, Sir J. Hooker, Director, and his son Dr. Hooker, who showed us over the gardens and loaded us with flowers."

14th (from Claverton) : "Atlantic Cable broke after 300 miles let out."

29th : "Papa, Mr. Campbell (afterwards Lord Campbell and Stratheden), and Mr. Bagehot came down."

Sept. 5 : "Julia began writing her article on 'Legends and Fairy-tales' for the *National Review*."

Richard Holt Hutton and Walter Bagehot had started and edited the *National Review*. The book of essays which Walter Bagehot published and which first

made him known as a writer to Lord Bryce, Matthew Arnold, Gladstone, and a few others who admired them greatly, appeared originally in the *National Review*.

Sept. 12 : " Mr. Greg, Bagehot and Hutton came. A telegram that Papa's brother William and three children were drowned."

13th : " Mr. Bagehot and Mr. Hutton left at 8.30 without our seeing them. Papa to London. Mr. Greg read and corrected Julia's article."

14th : " Papa to Dunbar. News from India. Nana Sahib defeated by General Havelock."

My father wrote to his private secretary :

Private

" THE HOTEL, DUNBAR,

" Sept. 15, 1857.

" MY DEAR MR. RIVERS WILSON,

" Some of my friends may enquire of you about this sad catastrophe, of which I knew no details till I reached here last night—when I learned the following melancholy facts. It appears that some time ago, my brother, who lives at Blackheath, had purchased a small property on the coast near here, as a gift to his wife's sister who lives in Edinburgh. For the first time they occupied it during the last six weeks, and were to return to the South in a few days. The children it appears were in the habit of bathing in front of the house : and on Saturday morning, about 10 o'clock, two of his daughters, one 17 and the other 15, with their maid, went to bathe : the former being good swimmers went out a little way, the latter remained in shallow water. The sea suddenly became rather rough with a receding tide, and the maid saw that the young ladies were in some difficulty. She ran to the house and my brother with his second son, a fine young man of 18, rushed down to the beach and into the water. Both were good swimmers, but what then happened no one seems to know, except that all four disappeared. The poor distracted mother had nearly suffered the same fate, for hearing the alarm and running to the spot she was only prevented rushing

into the water by main force. There are many exaggerated accounts, but these are the simple facts of this terrible event, and which please to explain to any of my friends who may enquire. Address to-morrow and next day to

“Walter Wilson, Esq.,

“Orchard House,

“Nr. Hawick,

“Roxburghshire.

“Yours sincerely,

“JAMES WILSON.”

My father wrote to Sir George C. Lewis, telling him of the tragedy.

“DOWNING ST.

“Sept. 17, 1857.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“The account which you have had the kindness to send me is truly distressing. It almost reminds one of the terrible tragedies now passing in India. The fate of the poor widow who survives to mourn over the destruction of her family is almost an aggravation of the calamity.

“I remember something similar occurring with three grown up sons of a Mr. Sidebottom, a conveyancer, with whom I was a pupil for a year. One who was bathing in the Thames was seized with cramp. The two other brothers jumped in after him, and all three were drowned. In this case the father survived.

“I trust that you will stay as long as you feel that you can be of any comfort to those who remain. I leave town to-morrow, as there seemed no necessity of having another Cabinet for the Calcutta letters. The telegraphic account received to-day brings nothing material of novelty, except that *Lord Elgin* had arrived at Calcutta. This event was quite unexpected here, but I suppose he saw that he could neither fight nor negotiate with effect in China, and so he thought it best to withdraw. Havelock had retreated upon the Ganges on account of cholera among his troops.

"It was agreed in the Cabinet to inform Lord Stratford that the Govt. would prefer that the Sultan should make his own telegraphic line from Constantinople to Bassorah, if he is willing to do so, and that we would agree to pay for the messages on such a line ; but if he preferred employing a Company, we would make a similar arrangement with a Company, but we could not undertake to recommend any Company in particular. I don't know what will be the result of all these rival schemes, but I am satisfied that for governmental purposes the importance of telegraphic communication with India is exaggerated.

" Ever yours sincerely,
" G. C. LEWIS."

Having also heard of it, Sir Richard Bethell wrote :

" HACKWOOD PARK,
" October 14th, 1857.

" MY DEAR WILSON,

" I know not how to write to you on such a subject as the dreadful calamity which has happened to some members of your family. . . . I regret very much that I cannot come to you. It would have given me great pleasure to have met my most excellent and much valued friend the Lord Chief Baron, who unites more than any man I know, the three characters of Lawyer, Scholar, and Gentleman. And the admirable Hayter ! He who has put his hook in the nose of the House of Commons and leads that many-headed monster like a tame Beast obedient to his will. Assure him of my unabated admiration and regard. And beg him to let me know as soon as he has found a new Attorney-General. The Worldly Sceptic will not believe in my sincerity, and I dare say he will taunt me and say, if you *do* want to retire from Public Life, why did you not take the office of Judge of the Probate and Divorce Court, an ample salary, little to do, and Patronage to the extent of £40,000 per annum. It is very true, but I feel that the H. of Commons believed throughout the whole of

the discussions that I was wholly disinterested, therefore reluctantly, I declined the *otium cum dignitate* of the office. . . . Tell the Young Ladies that I regret I cannot lay wagers with them of Hats against Bonnets and Velvet Suits against Ball Dresses, by which I should have made them all bankrupt.

“Yours very sincerely,
“RICHARD BETHELL.”

Diary E. Sept. 23 : “Mr. Bagehot called on his way to London and we persuaded him to stay the night.”

26th : “Papa came home and told us all he had done in Scotland. Mr. Bagehot came.”

27th : “Sat in the conservatory where Mr. Bagehot told me his mother was mad.”

28th : “Mr. Bagehot left.”

Oct. 3 : “Mr. Bagehot, Papa, Mr. Greg and Mr. Hutton came at 5. I took Mr. Bagehot to see the valley view and lost the donkey, which Mr. Greg rode back upon to meet us.”

My sister was not strong enough to take long walks, and had acquired a donkey so as to accompany us.

Oct. 8 : “Mr. Bagehot read us *Morte d'Arthur* and *Ulysses* in billiard room, seated on stove. He is going to publish his essays. He, Papa, Mr. Greg and Mr. Hutton went to town.”

12th : “Papa took 12 Upper Belgrave Street.”

24th : “Mr. Bagehot and Mr. Chichester Fortescue came.”

25th : “I sat in the conservatory with Mr. Bagehot, who told me the plots of all Lady Georgina Fullerton's novels. Julia reviewed Mme. de Bonneval for *Economist*.”

28th : “Walked with Mr. Bagehot before the house. Beautiful moon. Mr. Greg came. Fall of Delhi.”

31st : “Papa received a letter from Mr. Bagehot, with an enclosure for me and invited him to come here.”

Nov. 2 : “Mr. Bagehot came at 2.30. He gave Papa a letter detailing his affairs and Papa sent him out riding with me, Julia and Mr. Greg. Papa and

Mr. Bagehot had a long talk before dinner, and settled that he should speak to me next morning. Papa quite ill. [The idea of losing one of his daughters made him ill.] Mr. Bagehot and I played at Beggar my Neighbour, and he gained a queen's head from me."

4th : "Papa breakfasted in bed. Mamma held a consultation with Mr. Bagehot in the library after breakfast, and then he got me in there alone under pretence of looking for a book, and proposed to me. I went upstairs to read the letter he gave Papa, which he also gave me, detailing his position, and I had a talk with Papa and Mamma, and settled to give him my answer in London. I went to him in the morning-room and told him so. We stayed together there with Papa and Mamma till lunch. He and Mr. Greg went to town."

5th : "Talked over my proposed marriage with Mamma. Went to bed at 9 but did not sleep till 3."

6th : "Papa, Mamma, Sophie and I to town. Asked Papa at Hertford Street if he had anything to advise me on."

7th : "Mr. Bagehot came at 10 for my answer. I was in the dining-room and engaged myself to him then and there. He breakfasted with us and then went to the City. Mr. Hutton called to congratulate me. Mr. Bagehot came at 7 to dine with us."

8th : "Mr. Bagehot came. We talked of his life in London and at the Temple."

9th : "Mr. Bagehot came at 4 and walked with us in the gardens. We had a talk in the arbour about living near Bristol. Found Mr. Greg at home. Took Mr. Bagehot into the dismantled drawing-rooms to see them for the last time, and to see the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' as Mr. Black has asked him to write the article on the *Crédit Mobilier* for the new edition."

11th : "Got a letter from Mr. Bagehot (my first) from Langport, saying he was to return to town tomorrow to watch the crisis."

"I have just rushed down here from Bristol," he writes, "and it appears to me that I shall rebound to

London to-morrow. I rather fancy I shall have to stay some days there, as the panic is getting worse and requires watching. . . . I cannot be in a panic at all, myself. I have never felt such happiness as for the last few days, ever since our first walk in the *cemetery* (Walter's name for Hamilton Gardens). I do not quite believe in my happiness yet, one requires detail to make one believe in anything so strange."

Nov. 14 : "Papa did not come to dinner till 8.30, having been busy about the crisis. The Government sent the letter to the Banks suspending Sir Robert Peel's Bank Act of 1844."

16th : "Mr. Bagehot dined with us. The Deputy-Governor of the Bank came after dinner and had a talk with Papa."

17th : "Mr. Bagehot went with us to the station. We slept at York."

18th : "Arrived at Edinburgh, Albany Street."

The reason for my mother and my sisters Eliza and Sophie going to Edinburgh was to see a doctor whom Lady Kinnaird had strongly advised them to consult. She, like my sisters, had been suffering from headache, which in her case had been cured by this Dr. Beveridge through a treatment of rubbing. This particular time for the journey had been chosen on account of my father having been commissioned by the Government to enquire into the rights and wrongs of differences which for many years had existed between the Royal Institute and the Academy of Scotland. In "Notes of the Early History of the Royal Scottish Academy," by Sir George Harvey, P.R.S.A., is the following account of what my father accomplished :

"Deputed by Government, Mr. Wilson came to Edinburgh in January 1858, and had a meeting with a Committee of the Academy, consisting of the Secretary, Treasurer, and one of the Members of Council. The President, Sir John Watson Gordon, being confined by indisposition, was not present on this occasion. . . . A long conversation led to that Treasury Minute, dated

February 25, 1858, so gratifying to the Academy, which now forms the warrant upon which it occupies its position on the galleries erected on the Earthen Mound. When Mr. Wilson came to Scotland he was Secretary to the Treasury, under the Government of Lord Palmerston, but which, before the Minute was passed, ceased its functions, that under Lord Derby coming into office. So impressed, however, were the Treasury under the new administration, of the fairness and propriety of the Minute as drawn up by Mr. Wilson, that although much pressed by influential parties to modify and alter it in various ways, they refused to do so in any one particular. On the 15th July, 1858, Mr. Wilson wrote, from the House of Commons, that the Academy might now consider the whole affair connected with the National Gallery and Royal Academy as finally settled and disposed of, the estimates having passed for the School of Design and Board of Manufactures, and he, Mr. Wilson, having that day obtained from Government, in the House, a public pledge that his Minute of February last should be forthwith carried out *in all its details*, without alteration, and that the Secretary of the Treasury had undertaken to do this forthwith. Mr. Wilson 'congratulates the Academy on the final result of this long contest, and trusts that the arrangement now made will conduce to the prosperity of Art in Scotland.' The Government pledge referred to is detailed in the *Times* of 16th inst."

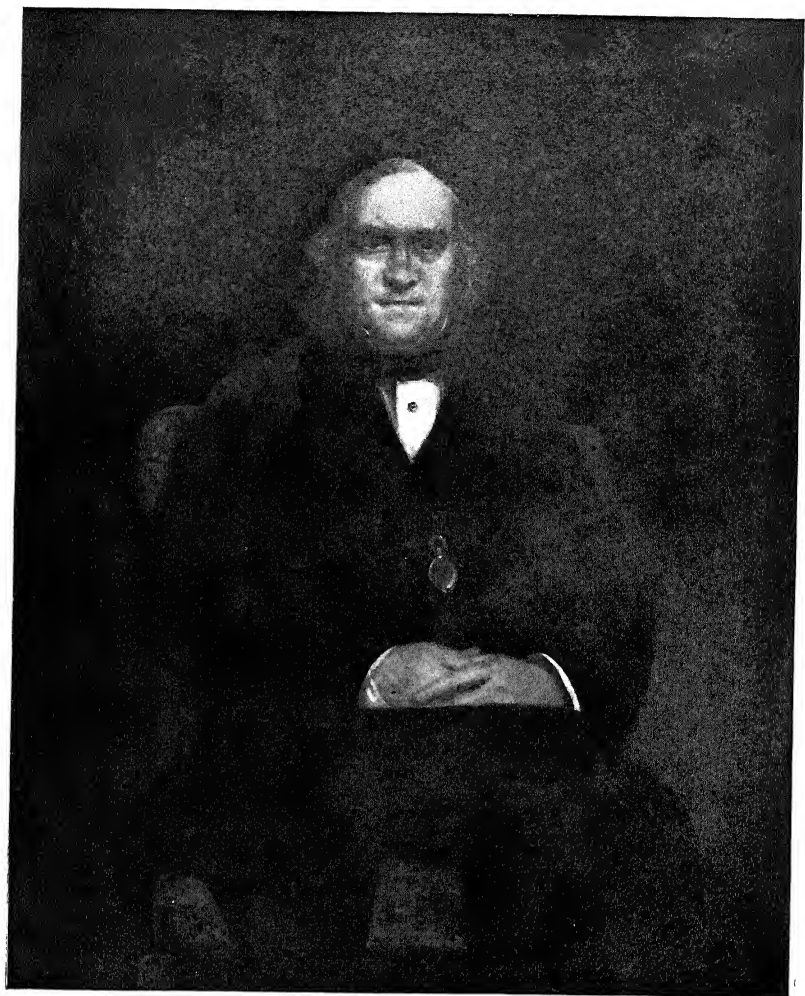
In the following year, as a token of gratitude, the Academy presented my mother with a portrait by their President, Sir John Watson Gordon, and a replica of a bust by Steele of my father. On receiving the portrait my mother wrote to express her gratitude, to which letter she received the following reply :

" 123, GEORGE STREET,
" EDINBURGH.

" 17 May, 1859.

" MY DEAR MADAM,

" On my return from London where I had been for a fortnight I had the pleasure of receiving your letter.



THE RIGHT HON. JAMES WILSON, M.P.

Presented to Mrs. Wilson
By the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture
In Grateful Commemoration of His Eminent Services
To The Fine Arts of Scotland.

MDCCCLIX.

Nothing can exceed the satisfaction I felt at the kindly manner in which you express your approbation of the Portrait of Mr. Wilson. Indeed it is most gratifying considering the great obligations we all feel ourselves under to the original.

"It was my intention while in London to have paid my respects to you and Mr. Wilson, but before I had an opportunity of visiting any of my friends or acquaintances I became very unwell and thought it prudent to return home to my great regret. I am thankful, however, to be able to say that I feel much better and hope that after a few days relaxation and care that I shall be able to resume my labours as usual.

"And with kind regards,

"I remain,

"My dear Madam,

"Very truly yours,

"JOHN WATSON GORDON."

She also received an official document from the Secretary of the Royal Academy, Edinburgh :

"27th July, 1859.

"Permit me, Madam, in the name of the R.A. of Scotland, to request your acceptance of it (the portrait), to remain in your family as a visible expression of the gratitude of the country, whose best wishes for Mr. Wilson's—your own and your family's health, honour and prosperity, I am authorised to present to you.

"D. O. HILL."

With reference to the bust the Secretary writes :
 "... I shall not further lengthen this note than by informing you that Mr. Wilson's bust in marble intended by the Academy for the Scottish National Gallery, now occupies a distinguished position in that Institution."

Mr. James Paterson, R.S.A., has kindly sent me his pamphlet, "The Royal Scottish Academy, a Retrospect," which gives an interesting account of the struggles of the Royal Academy to be acknowledged in its full dignity by the Royal Institute. The Institute was ostensibly

constituted for the purpose of promoting the Fine Arts, but it as ostensibly refused to acknowledge the dignity of the profession of the artist. These struggles came to a successful end, by the action taken by my father in its favour. No work, I am convinced, was more congenial to him than that of promoting the love of beauty and of the arts, a love which he himself so keenly possessed, among his fellow-countrymen.

The financial crisis and Walter Bagehot's engagement to my sister being almost simultaneous, his arrangements in consequence became somewhat complicated.

He wrote to my sister :

“ What do you think your father and myself did the moment you were gone ? We went to see the antiquities of Halicarnassus !! They are a set of odd legs and bodies of great statues just arrived, and they alleviated our feelings very much. It happened in this way. We drove past the British Museum on our way home, and Mr. Wilson asked if I had seen the new reading-room, and as I had not, he forthwith took me to see it. We were ushered into old Panizzi who was doing nothing in a fine armchair, and he proposed we should see the venerable fragments just arrived from Greece. I am not sure, however, that we appreciated them. I have an unfortunate prejudice in favour of statues in one piece—at least in not more than six pieces, and these are broken up very small indeed—and it is a controversy whose arm belongs to whose body ; but I believe real lovers of art admire these perplexities. On the whole, however, we spent our hour cheerfully, and, in consequence, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and a heap of Scotch bankers were kept half an hour waiting. Seriously I felt pretty well although you were gone. I am so soothed by the last week . . . and it is such a rest. I believe too I am a little tired. The affections are always fatiguing ; then there is the panic which is wearing, and really a trifle anxious ; and your father's conversation, and what I guess from it, leads me into the interior of matters in which I am so much interested so that currency becomes

an excitement, and altogether I am pleasingly tired, and though I think of you very much, about two minutes in three, it is nicely and mildly. I must brace myself more to my work in the morning, however, for it won't do to be always thinking of our drive to the station and the fireside in Hertford Street. . . .

"Mr. Moffatt gave us a grand dinner, capital wine and excellent food. We talked currency till half-past one and then Mr. Wilson and myself walked to Hertford Street, and stood on the doorstep ever so long talking of Michel Chevalier and the double standard in France. Mr. Moffatt is a sensible man, acquainted with money, and was really interested in what he was saying. There were only five of us, and a small party is always pleasanter. Mr. Robert Lowe and the American Banker were the others ; the latter was instructive. . . .

"What is the particular advantage of being rubbed at *Edinburgh*? Since writing yesterday I have made careful enquiries and am assured that the English can rub. Why not be rubbed in Somerset? Let the doctor *mark the place* and have a *patch put to show where*, and let an able-bodied person in the West of England rub on the *same* place and surely it will be as well? Does the man's touch do good to disease like the King's? . . .

"(Claverton) I came over here yesterday. Everything in its usual channel. The only event which has occurred is that your sister Emilie dined yesterday, and naturally insisted that Jetty¹ should dine in public also, which Mr. Wilson forbad and this cast a momentary shade on life, but it is gone now. I think I have distinguished myself about money. I wrote a letter in the *Economist* four columns of leader type. Everything was postponed to it—an article of Mr. Wilson's (! !)—one of Hutton's ; and something else. Your father seemed to like it, and Greg said, 'Better than any of your literary things, Bagehot?' which is paying a compliment and spoiling it rather."

¹ "Jetty" was my inseparable—a black and tan toy terrier. I knew at the time that Walter took my part, he always took the part of children.

Walter Bagehot joined my mother and sisters in Edinburgh on December 13, and on the 16th, my sister's birthday, he presented her with eight volumes bound in red leather, containing the poetry of Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats, and on that same day engagement rings were exchanged. My father arrived in Edinburgh on the day of these events ; having been kept in London on account of the crisis. While in Edinburgh, Walter was occupied in writing his article on this crisis for the *National Review*.

During this winter Walter put together his early essays and brought them out in a volume, calling them "Estimates of some Englishmen and Scotchmen." He wrote to my sister : "I am very glad I decided on reprinting my essays for your sake, because they will help you to understand my mind better than anything else. You may consider the book in the nature of a love-letter. It never would have been put together but from a floating idea that perhaps you might read it, and perhaps might like me better for it. . . . I have had a good deal of newspaper praise for these essays, at least for some of them—when they first came out, and I must expect very little more. Besides I know they will be abused and by whom ; and if one puts aside unfavourable criticisms in newspapers carelessly, one has scarcely a right to set much store by the favourable ones. I do care, however, a good deal for some kind of reputation. In proof of which I send you a letter we received in the course of the *National Review* operations from Matthew Arnold. We wrote to him to ask him to write on Béranger, and I kept his answer which is *wholly* unprecedented with me. It gave me a good deal of pleasure, as he is rather a severe judge of poetical criticism, and I will *give* it to *you*."

Matthew Arnold writes :

" . . . It was only a day or two ago that I read the article on Shelley in the last number ; that article and one or two others (in which I imagine that I trace the same hand) seem to me to be of the very first quality,

showing not talent only, but a concern for the *simple truth* which is rare in English literature as it is in English politics and English religion—whatever zeal, vanity and ability may be exhibited by the performers in each of these three spheres. . . .”

“The crisis is all over and everybody has too much money. It is really a very ridiculous world. The last few times I have been here everybody was on their knees asking for money—now you have nearly to go on your knees to ask people to take it. Neither of these two extremes is very pleasant.

“I was much pleased with Sir G. Lewis’s remark and more at your being pleased with it.¹ The *Times* says, Mr. J. Wilson, M.P., Mrs. Wilson, Misses Wilson (two) were at the State Ball last night. You have not stolen to town without telling me, or did you obey her Majesty’s summons by telegraph? . . .

“There are reviews of my essays in the *Press* and the *Spectator*, the latter only a short notice, as they say its contents will be fresh in people’s minds, which is a compliment as implying that one is read and remembered. The *Press* says I am ‘childish and indescribably trivial.’ This is fame, you observe, that enlightened appreciation for which authors long. I am much afraid Hutton will out-Herod Herod about me in the *Economist*. I can’t say I think my book will begin a new era at all, though the covers are very good and the type is so too.”

Diary E. Jan. 8 : “Started for Rossie Priory. Lord Kinnaird got in at Perth and we found him and two carriages at Inchtown. Found Lady Kinnaird, their son and daughter.”

9th : “Papa, Mamma, Lord Kinnaird and I walked to the Glen.”

11th : “Returned to Edinburgh. Papa and Mamma dined at the Moncrieffs’ and met Lady Melgund. I not well enough to go. Arranged my wedding and trousseau.”

¹ Sir G. C. Lewis had written to my father saying that the article in the *National Review* (Bagehot’s) was the only good one he had seen on the crisis.

13th : " Papa went to a sale and bought two Williams and a Turner."

23rd : " We went to Hawick."

Feb. 6 : " Reached London at 4. Walter went to the station and missed us."

7th : " Walter and I walked to Lincoln's Inn Chapel and heard Frederick Denison Maurice on Prayer."

13th : " Papa dined at the Speaker's first dinner, and I fetched him at 10.15 and went to Lady Palmerston's for last time."

18th : " Went to Claverton."

20th : " Walter's father came to see me. Papa, Mr. Greg, Mr. Cole [Sir Henry Cole], Mr. Redgrave, R.A., and Dr. Lyon Playfair came at 8."

21st : " Dr. Playfair gave us the new theory of light and heat (quantities of aerolites knocking against the body of the sun and causing sparks), but he does not believe it."

24th : " Lord Derby undertook to form a Govt."

March 3 : " Papa arrived, the House having adjourned for the elections of the new Ministers."

12th : " The House met, new Government languid."

13th : " I got letters from Mme. Mohl, politics, and Ida declining to be my bridesmaid as she cannot leave Paris."

18th : " Mamma, Julia and I went to Clevedon where his mother was. Went over Bella Vista. Mrs. Bagehot gave me a Bible at parting."

April 6th : " Papa went to Wells for the Quarter Sessions to vote for a Chaplain for Taunton Gaol. Papa, Mamma, Julia and Sophie went to Mrs. Bethell's Ball."

9th : " Lord Decies arrived. Papa, Mamma and I dined at the Moseleys'. Met Sir Arthur Elton, who liked our proposal to call our house the Arches."

10th : " Papa dined with the Literary Club at Bath."

11th : " Sir William Topham came to lunch and brought little Conyers Barrey."

20th : " Walter, Mr. Wood and Barnes Bagehot came at 4.30. Signed the settlements, Mr. Greg and

Mr. Wood trustees. Barnes Bagehot witness. Tried on my veil and wreath to show Walter."

21st: "Our wedding-day. Beautiful and hot. Church quite full. Used our pew for vestry. Walked on lawn after church. Hanoverian Band played. At breakfast Mr. Moffatt proposed our health. Sir William Topham proposed the bridesmaids in a very clever speech. Over at 2.30. Walter and I started in post chariot at 3.30. Numbers of Bath people had arrived for the dance. I went into morning-room to see them. Six white satin slippers were thrown after us. We drove to Frome, changed horses, and took up luggage, and got to Stourton at 7."

In that manner the marriage of Walter Bagehot and my sister Eliza Wilson took place.

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CHAPTER XIX

PASSING THE BUDGET—GLADSTONE'S OPPOSITION

TILL the end of January the injury to my father's foot kept him at Claverton. The forthcoming Budget was discussed by Sir G. Cornwall Lewis by letter :

"HARPTON,
"Jan. 7, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"There is a Cabinet on Friday, for which I intend to come up so that I shall be at Downing St. on that day, & I shall probably remain over Monday. I should like to have a talk with you about the Pound due question, if you are in town on either of those days. There is an article in the *Daily News* of yesterday, which makes me think that people are coming to their senses a little about the Income tax.

"Y^r ever sincerely,
"G. C. LEWIS."

My father writes :

"CLAVERTON MANOR,
"Jan. 15/57.

"MY DEAR LEWIS,

"I find that Lord Clarendon has taken his patent and that Lord Panmure is the only delinquent left : I will write to him *privately* and remind him of the matter again.

"I fear that giving old ordnance and voting money for the Duke's Mont. in Dublin will be very different things. There has been no vote of that nature in my day. We shall have a considerable vote for the Mont. in

St. Paul's, and if a moderate sum is determined to be given to Dublin we could vote the two together, distinguishing how much for each.

"We shall have a very close estimate of the Civil Service Estimate ready by the meeting.

"I have had a fall from my horse which has made me a prisoner for a fortnight, but I am nearly well.

"The Income Tax agitation is all against the 16^d. and I think you will have little difficulty in getting the 8^d. for three years. I don't quite like the symptoms of trade and the money market—high prices will tell on consumption and the slightest re-action will tell greatly upon profits. 1856 has been a wonderful year for business, but I fear 1857 will not tell so good a tale.

"Moffatt and his rich wife, Cockburn, Hayward and Greg have been here during the last week. Moffatt is subdued and the Lord Chief Justice is the Judge, better in his looks than his talk.

"Mercator is charmed with his theme. If his perfect satisfaction and rounded style will do all, the Bank Act of 1844 is safe enough; but how carefully he avoids 1847, and how charmingly he persists in a high rate of interest as the only security, which is just what he never dreamt of before when the fluctuation in the circulation of notes was to do everything, and when those opposed to the mere currency theory insisted that it was the rate of interest only that could regulate the money market. He has appropriated the one thing needful. But when reading his letters I always think of the fine speeches of Peel in 1841 when he showed how the country had flourished under protection and depicted the danger of interfering with so beneficial a system. But however unsound I may think Mercator in his theories, the practical results are so much nearer to those which I believe sound theory would suggest than any other system that has been propounded, that I should not like to put into the pools with the chance of what would come out. The worst consequences of the system are

that it has practically established a number of monopolies in the issuing Banks of the three Kingdoms which will be more mischievous the longer the system lasts. We shall find that all the County Banks of Issue which were so strong against Peel will now be in favour of the Act, from the monopoly it gives them.

“Yours truly,

“JAMES WILSON.

“THE RT. HON. SIR G. C. LEWIS, BT., M.P.”

“HARPTON,

“18 Jan. 1857.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“It is quite true, as you say, that the agitation is against the 16*d*. income tax, but I heard from Anderson that the Army & Navy Estimates, as now prepared, are about 7½ millions above the same estimates in the last year of peace, & that the entire amount of the present income tax will be absorbed. If it is intended that the permanent peace establishment for the Army & Navy is to be increased from 16 to 24 millions a year, I have no idea that the House will agree to any such course, or will consent to keep up a permanent income tax of 6½ per cent. for the purpose. At present, I know no details, nor the grounds of this expensive plan, but there is no doubt I fear as to the correctness of the totals obtained by Anderson.

“I am sorry to hear of your accident. It was fortunate for you that it occurred during the recess. I shall come up to town on Thursday & be at Downing St. on Friday next.

“Trematon's letters are written in a fine bold newspaper style. What you say about the existing banks is quite true. I observe that the answers which I have received from the Scotch banks are all favourable to the existing law—notwithstanding its restrictions.

“Ever yours sincerely,

“G. C. LEWIS.”

“DOWNING ST.,

“24 Jan. 1857.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“I am very sorry to hear so bad an account of your progress to recovery. I fear that in such cases there is no remedy like patience, & I trust you will not attempt to resume work until you are really well.

“I had yesterday an Income tax deputation, of which there is a full report in the *Times*, & I explained to them that the continuance of the War Income tax depended upon the Army & Navy Estimates.

“I had later in the day a full explanation with Lord Panmure & Wood upon the amount of their Estimates, & it is understood that they are to produce amended Estimates on Tuesday next.

“In the meantime I am desirous of considering what arrangement can be made about the tea & sugar duties. It is clear that their downward progress must be arrested. As the law stands, tea drops from 1s. 9d. to 1s. 3d. in April next, & to 1s. in April 1858. There is a similar reduction in sugar. What do you say to fixing tea at 1s. 6d. in April next as a permanent duty, and adopting corresponding rates for sugar? With these duties, and with more moderate Army & Navy Estimates, a satisfactory arrangement of the Income tax could be effected. Gladstone is sure to take part in the discussion on the Bank Charter, but it will all end in talk & a Committee.

“Ever yours sincerely,

“G. C. LEWIS.”

“DOWNING ST.,

“Jan. 27, 1857.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“There has been a meeting of the Cabinet to-day. The original estimates for the Army & Navy have been reduced to about twenty-one millions, to which the Militia has to be added. Even this reduction has been accomplished with great difficulty. It will now be possible for me to propose such a budget as the House will probably agree to, but the sum to be raised will be

large, & there will be great objection to such heavy Army & Navy estimates.

"Anderson's paper is excellent—clear, comprehensive, & dignified in tone ; it explains an intricate subject so that anyone who chooses may understand it. There are a few points in it which require notice, but it nearly completes the question. I have written to Baring to give him notice that he may move the reappointment of his Committee.

"I am glad to hear of your improvement—pray do not attempt to move until your doctor fully consents. There has been another Income tax deputation with me, of small shopkeepers, detailing cases of individual distress. It is clear to me that the difficulty of maintaining the tax has been greatly increased by the inclusion of incomes under £150.

"The news as to the submission of Persia rests on the authority of the Turkish minister at Teheran. I am afraid that it is very dubious.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"G. C. LEWIS.

"The Duke of Argyll is anxious that you should not commit the Treasury to any final terms on the subject of the Irish Mail."

"DOWNING ST.,

"2 Feb. 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I am glad to hear that your recovery is advancing satisfactorily, & that you are likely to be able to come up to town by the end of the week. What you say about Coode's paper quite agrees with my views. In fact he has made some of his arguments a little less complete since I first saw his paper in MS. On the whole, however, I think this duty is safe for the present.

"It is expected that Ld. Grey will move an amendment in the Lords on the subject of Persia, but as the speech will promise papers, his motion will probably not be passed. I hear that Gladstone is much alarmed at

high Estimates & a warlike foreign policy. There will doubtless be some strong expressions of opinion to-morrow night on these points, but there is no likelihood of an amendment. I intend to give notice of the Bank Committee for Friday. Sir G. Grey is to bring on the question of Transportation on Monday, but I do not expect any real fighting until the first night of the Army & Navy Estimates ; as soon as the feeling of the House on the Estimates has been shewn, I shall open the Budget.

“ Ever yours sincerely,
“ G. C. LEWIS.”

“ CLAVERTON MANOR,
“ NR. BATH,
“ *Feb'y. 5/57.*

“ MY DEAR LEWIS,

“ The tone of the House will have satisfied Lord Panmure and Sir C. Wood of the necessity and prudence you exercised in cutting them down, and it should be taken as an inducement to a further reduction if possible. The cold fit is setting in with a strong current, not that the country is suffering but that political capital can be made out of the Income Tax. What Gladstone means by a compact is this : In 1853 he carried his Income Tax and his succession duty. He satisfied our party with the Income Tax without any adjustment of rates of charge as Disraeli had proposed, because he added the succession duty to property ; he sacrificed the property classes to the latter, by the promise that the Income Tax should cease in 1860 when the long annuities fell in. He appears then to think that the whole was a compact, and that in order to justify the succession duty, the Income Tax should be redeemed when he intended and extinguished in 1860. Now the latter was not at all implied. All that I understood was that the Tax should then again come under the revision of the House. But then in the meantime £8,000,000 of bonds have been made payable in the interim and £1,500,000 or a little more of sinking fund. . He cannot stand by that

compact under the new circumstances. As much was it a breach of that compact to raise the tax to 16^d. for the war. However I suppose the moral is that we must refuse every possible grant we can, and reef our sails as close as we can.

"You will have to make the Bank Committee very large. I see that of 1840 had 26 *members* with 6 of the Govt. including the Chancellor of the Ex. and the Secty. of the Treasury, Mr. Parker. The one in 1848 I have not here to refer to. Gladstone will take a strong line about the Bank of Engld.

"I have been reading all Jones Lloyd's old pamphlets ; they are perfect specimens of taste and style ; but the theory so fallacious that I am disposed to give Peel more credit than I ever did before in producing a scheme in the act of 1844, which while it appeared to carry out the doctrines of the currency school, has in reality given a practical effect, more than at first sight is apparent, to the pure Bullion doctrine. The more one reflects upon it, the more one sees that though it may be the voice of Overstone it is the hand of Tooke ; but there is much of fiction in its form, which is mischievous and tends to delude. But the real evil is that it stands now neither upon one principle nor another ; it gives up competition, but it does not carry out regulation to its legitimate end. Peel certainly, as Gladstone says, never intended it but as an intermediate step. Still if taken as a compromise I cannot say that in its immediate consequences it is either mischievous or dangerous. It certainly teaches people to attach far too much importance to *Notes* and keeps the real question of *Bullion* in the background ; and it sets up monopolies all through the trade which in the course of time will be very prejudicial. I am progressing rapidly.

"Yours truly,
"JAMES WILSON."

Though still suffering from pain my father returned to Hertford Street with my two sisters early in February,

and Sir G. Cornewall Lewis produced his anxiously expected Budget some days later.

Diary E. Feb. 20: "Division on the Budget. Sharp attack by Gladstone. Papa spoke."

The Budget was cordially received. Both within and without the House great satisfaction was felt at the announcement that the future rate of Income Tax was to be fixed at 7*d.* instead of 1*s.* 4*d.*, and at the reduction of duties on tea and sugar. Gladstone, however, who appeared to be in a singularly fractious mood, was rabid in his criticism of it.

Greville writes, February 8, 1857: "Gladstone seems bent on leading Sir George Lewis a weary life, but Lewis is just the man to encounter and baffle such an opponent, for he is cold-blooded as a fish, totally devoid of sensibility or nervousness, of an imperturbable temper, calm and resolute, laborious and indefatigable, and exceedingly popular in the House of Commons from his general good humour and civility, and the credit given him for honour, sincerity, plain dealing, and good intentions."

That Sir George Lewis was totally devoid of sensibility is disproved in the following letter which my father wrote to my mother, who had remained at Claverton, owing to the approaching marriage of my sister Sophie to William Stirling Halsey of the Indian Civil Service:

"15, HERTFORD ST.,

"Feb. 22, 1857.

"MY DEAR ELIZA,

"We are in a state of great excitement about the Budget. Gladstone made a most savage attack on Lewis last night, and I think it has done him (Gladstone) much harm. He was violent, impetuous, illogical and inconclusive. I had the difficult task of following him, and suffered much from standing on my leg. I was obliged to sit down much sooner than I otherwise would, but the speech was well received by both sides of the House, and much cheered. It has given great satisfaction and is considered to contrast most favourably both in form and matter with Gladstone's. It had at least

the effect of destroying the impression produced by Gladstone against the Budget, and as the case stands now, we are secure in carrying it.

"But matters look very queer about China. I doubt whether we shall come off so well on that subject. The publication of the papers does not appear to have produced a favourable impression. Lord Derby brings the motion forward in the Lords on Tuesday and Cobden in the Commons on the same day.

"To-night we go to the Lowes' to dinner and to Lady Palmerston's in the evening.

"Lady Theresa is in a great way about Gladstone's attack, and Lewis feels it very much.

"There is much speculation as to a junction between Gladstone and Lord Derby, but those who profess to know most say that there is nothing in it." ¹

Gladstone's attack was a failure in affecting the popularity of the Budget, and the assertions he made in order to justify his attack were easily proved to be untenable. Lord John Russell, usually a supporter of Gladstone's financial policy, spoke strongly in support of Sir George Lewis's Budget, concocted partly with my father, but the other question mentioned by my father led on March 3 to the defeat of the Government.

Diary E. Feb. 26 : "Papa, Zeno and I to a musical party at Sir Alexander Cockburn's. Cobden's motion for a vote of censure on the Govt. for the Chinese disturbances at Canton. Debate adjourned."

27th : "Chinese debate again adjourned."

28th : "Papa, Julia and Zeno to Lady Palmerston's. Govt. thought safe for a majority of 30."

March 2 : "Met Leonora de Rothschild and her fiancé. Chinese debate again adjourned."

¹ The opposition to the Budget finds a record in a cartoon in *Punch*, February 28. Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone, the two Ex-Chancellors of the Exchequer, were united in attacking the financial schemes of the Government. The cartoon represented them as "The Balances Brothers of Westminster," in the minimum acrobatic attire, locked together by their outstretched arms; Palmerston and Sir George Cornwall Lewis amused, watching their trick.

3rd : "Debate on China concluded. Govt. in a minority of 16. Coalition between Disraeli and Gladstone avowed."

4th : "Cabinet Council, after which Lord Palmerston went to Windsor."

5th : "Leonora de Rothschild married her Parisian cousin, Baron Alphonse. Magnificent wedding at Gunnersbury. Papa came home to dinner at 8 after Lord Palmerston's explanation. A dissolution was announced, and that the Govt. intends to send a Plenipotentiary to China."

The disturbances in China had arisen through Sir John Bowring, the Chief Superintendent of Trade at Hongkong, having forced an entrance into the Port of Canton. There were no representatives of any European Court in China at that time. In 1857 China was almost closed to foreigners. However, by the Treaty of Nankin, 1847, the Chinese were engaged to open five ports to foreign trade. The Chinese had carried out the treaty with respect to four ports, but Canton, the fifth, had remained closed, on the plea advanced by the Emperor of China's Ministers that the lives of foreigners would not have been safe had they been admitted into the city. This had been accepted as a sufficient reason by several successive British Governments, but Sir John Bowring, appointed by Lord Clarendon as Chief Superintendent of Trade, determined that the treaty should be fulfilled in the case of Canton. He was not of a nature capable of sympathising with the finer side of the ancient Chinese dispensations. No one conversant with the civilised and admirable domestic life the Chinese lived in the interior of the country could wonder that their Government was anxious to keep their ports closed, for when these same people migrated to the ports, they became in many senses demoralised, through drinking spirits and through contact with those who had no standard in religion or morals like their own,—and many who had no standard at all.

Lord Grey, Lord Malmesbury, and Lord Granville

had all had occasion to expostulate with Sir John Bowring for having taken a far too independent action without waiting for instructions from home. He was now bent on forcing open the port at Canton, and he took advantage, very unjustifiably, of the Chinese having seized the crew of a small ship, the *Arrow*, as being pirates, at a time when she was flying a British flag. The mandarin who seized the crew had exclaimed, "Take that flag down : this is not a British ship." Sir John Bowring wrote to Mr. Parkes, the British Consul at Canton, that the licence to run the British flag had run out, but that the Chinese were not aware of it. He told Parkes to demand an apology from Governor Yeh for an offence which Sir John Bowring knew the Chinese had not committed, on the plea that, under the treaty, offenders in British ships had to be given up to the British Consul. Governor Yeh replied that flying a British flag did not make a ship British : it was not buying the ship but selling the flag. Thereupon Sir John Bowring on indefensible grounds ordered Sir Michael Seymour, the British Admiral in Chinese waters, to attack the forts of Canton. The forts were taken, the buildings burned, the Chinese ship commanding Canton was captured, and with it fifty guns. Governor Yeh made reasonable and fair overtures to the English Consul, which were rejected on puerile grounds, and Bowring demanding entrance into Canton and receiving no answer, Admiral Seymour was ordered to shell the public buildings. Never was the power of England more disgraced than by this wanton and brutal bullying of a weaker nation.

Referring to this action of Sir John Bowring which commenced the war, Lord Elgin, who was sent out as plenipotentiary to settle the quarrel, wrote to Lady Elgin : "I have hardly alluded in my Ultimatum to that wretched question of the *Arrow*, which is a scandal to us, and is so considered, I have reason to know, by all except the few who are personally compromised." What followed was but the natural consequence. Though Sir John Bowring had no authority for going to war with

China, our fleet destroyed a Chinese junk and burned the western suburbs of Canton. Thereupon Chinese murdered Europeans and burned foreign factories.

On receiving information of these proceedings and the Blue Book, named "Insults in China," being laid before the House, great discussions arose. Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon, perhaps not having fully investigated the true story of Sir John Bowring's behaviour, instead of recalling him, condoned his action. But on February 24 Lord Derby in the Lords, and on the 26th Mr. Cobden in the Commons, brought forward votes of censure, Lord Derby declaring that Governor Yeh had been "forbearing, courteous and gentleman-like," and Sir John Bowring "menacing, disrespectful, arrogant," usurping the Queen's prerogative to make war, and he appealed to the Peers to declare "that they would not tolerate the destruction of the forts of a friendly country ; that they would not tolerate the bombardment and the shelling of an undefended and commercial city ; and that they would not on any consideration give the sanction of their voice to the shedding of the blood of unwarlike and innocent people without warrant of law, without moral justification." Though Lord Derby made a speech which he never surpassed, and Lord Lyndhurst produced a profound impression by discoursing on the valid exposition of the law which Governor Yeh had made, Lord Derby's resolutions were rejected by 36 votes. On that night Cobden made what was considered to be one of the noblest of all his orations. He quoted Lord Lyndhurst on the legal aspect of the proceedings, and the distinguished Admiral, Sir Thomas Cochrane, who maintained that kindness and courtesy were always appreciated and amply responded to by the Chinese, "an ingenuous and civilised people who were learned when our Plantagenet Kings could not write, who had logic before Aristotle, and morals before Socrates." Lord John Russell in a speech elevated in tone contrasted the policy which rode roughshod over the deeply rooted, long-established customs and creeds

of an ancient dynasty, and that policy with which the chivalry of high purpose meets the inbred variances of different races. "We have heard," he said, "too much of late—a great deal too much, I think—of the prestige of England. We used to hear of the character, of the reputation, of the honour of England." Gladstone followed on the same lines, in what Greville calls "a magnificent speech." Lord Palmerston reserved his reply for the evening which closed the debate, but did not convince the House so as to secure a majority, and the Government was beaten by 16 votes as noted in the Diary. He advised Her Majesty to dissolve. He wisely did not go to the country on the Chinese question but on the grounds that he had been the innocent victim of a coalition, making it a question of personal adherence to himself. Palmerston, still the all-powerful with the English populace, secured his majority.

Never perhaps more than in this Chinese question has a clearer instance been shown of where the Parliamentary system of party government can fall short of sustaining the noblest standard of individual conduct. By common consent, in and out of the House, the English people voiced Lord Palmerston as the only Minister who could at that time secure anything like a stable government and conduct the business of the country in the most satisfactory manner. It was therefore for expediency, no less than for party reasons, that several members voted for the Government and acted contrary to their own consciences as regarded the British treatment of the Chinese. On Lord Palmerston exposing vehemently the outrages committed by the Chinese, Lord Derby answered, "These horrors have been the consequence of our conduct, and not, as Lord Palmerston would fain have them appear, the provocation." When Lord Elgin was sent out to China as plenipotentiary, an appointment which completely superseded the authority of Sir John Bowring, he wrote, "I have seldom from man or woman, since I came to the East, heard a sentence which was reconcilable with the hypothesis that Christianity had ever come into

the world. Detestation, contempt, ferocity, vengeance, whether Chinamen or Indians be the object," and when having to carry out his mission he was forced to bombard an unfortified town he wrote, "I never felt so ashamed of myself in my life. . . . I thought bitterly of those who for the most selfish objects are trampling down this ancient civilisation. I hate the whole thing so much that I cannot trust myself to write about it." From my own knowledge of my father, I am convinced that, had he been in his friend, Lord Elgin's place, those would also have been his feelings.

Lord Granville, who had to speak against his own conviction, Sir G. C. Lewis and others, it was said in the Cabinet saw the question in a contrary light from that in which Lord Palmerston propounded it, yet they would not weaken his Government by seceding from it.

An uncontrollable spirit of vengeance, indiscriminate in its violence, was aroused in England, and wherever the English were to be found, owing to the atrocities committed during the Mutiny by Indian natives on men, women and children alike. The historian *Punch* symbolises this spirit in a powerfully drawn cartoon—September 12, 1857. "Justice—The British Lion's vengeance on the Bengal Tiger"—the Lion, open-jawed with cruel teeth, leaping ferociously on the crouching figure of the Tiger holding under its paws a woman and her baby. A righteous indignation was only too natural not to be felt, but it doubtless was further and unwisely infuriated by an inborn contempt the English had for the coloured races whom they considered so far inferior to their own. This revengeful hatred was, as Lord Elgin wrote, clearly incompatible with the creeds of Christianity which the superior race professed to hold, and, had it been carried into action with an indiscriminate treatment of the millions of natives which our hundreds of Englishmen had to rule, would have made that rule impossible. Happily one English statesman's spirit rose above the violence of the popular outcry. Throughout the Mutiny Lord Canning, Governor-General of India, steadily

refused urgent pressure put on him to replace his Sepoy bodyguard by English soldiers, and, when the Mutiny was suppressed, he issued a Proclamation, imbued with a high-minded spirit of justice, a far-sighted wisdom, and a firm courage, heedless of the forces of passion and prejudice surrounding him.

No less was Lady Canning inspired with a like noble fearlessness and love of justice. To Lady Caledon she wrote : " It would charm the Indian-English public to hang and blow from guns any number of people, and I believe C. is terribly unpopular because he is just and firm too. There is a positive thirst for blood. Hardly anyone can speak about natives in a tone which does not drive me wild, so I hold my tongue. Anglo-Indians actually hate to hear of a good trait, yet in every story, however horrid, one is sure to hear of *one* good person."

Lord Canning writes to Lord Granville:

" As long as I have any breath in my body, I will pursue no other policy than that I have been following : not only for the reason of expediency and policy, but because it is immutably just. I will not govern in anger. Justice, and that as stern, as inflexible, as law and might can make it, I will deal out. But I will never allow an angry and indiscriminating act or word to proceed from the Government of India as long as I am responsible for it. I don't care two straws for the abuse of the papers, British or Indian. I am for ever wondering at myself for not doing so, but it is really the fact. Partly from want of time to care, partly because an enormous task is before me, and all other tasks look small.

" I don't want you to do more than defend me against unfair or mistaken attacks. But do take up and assert boldly that, whilst we are prepared, as the first duty of all, to strike down resistance without mercy, wherever it shews itself, we acknowledge that, resistance over, deliberate and calm patient reason are to resume their sway ; that we are not going, either in anger or from indolence, to punish wholesale, whether by wholesale hangings or burnings, or by the less violent, but not a bit

less offensive, course of refusing trust and countenance and favour and honour to any man because he is of a class or a creed. Do this, and get others to do it, and you will serve India more than you would believe."

Lord Canning's Proclamation was universally condemned in England. The cartoon in *Punch* "Too civil by half,"—the "Governor-General defending the *poor* Sepoy" appeared, representing Lord Canning, holding his Proclamation in raised arm, restraining an English soldier from bayoneting a Sepoy crouching on the ground. This Proclamation evoked from Lord Ellenborough, then Secretary of State for India, a notable document addressed to Lord Canning, so monstrously insulting in its tone that by many it was hoped it could not help leading the Governor-General to resign. However, it was not Lord Canning, but Lord Ellenborough who had to resign.

During the last eight months of his life my father enjoyed the loyal and staunch friendship of this pure, lofty-minded statesman and his wife.

Bishop Cotton expressed his estimation of Lord Canning in the following words: "He was the very mirror of honour, the pattern of a just, high-minded and fearless statesman—kind and considerate without any personal bias against opponents."

With reference to the debates on the Chinese question in the House, my father writes:

"15, HERTFORD ST.

"MY DEAR ELIZA,

"I am remaining at home to-day to recover, not being quite so well. I have just had Mr. Anderson here from the Treasury. It appears inevitable that the division to-night will be such as to lead to a dissolution. And to-morrow the Cabinet will have to consider when it can take place, which must be governed entirely by financial considerations; and a decision must be taken so as to announce it to the House at its meeting on Thursday. Under these circumstances it is impossible I can be out of the way. . . .

"The accounts from China are horrible. A Chinese baker at Hongkong nearly succeeded in poisoning the whole Colony, Sir John and Lady Bowring among the rest, by putting arsenic in all the bread."

My father, however, soon went down to Claverton, returning by March 9.

"15, HERTFORD ST.,
"9th March, 1857.

"MY DEAR ELIZA,

"When I got up to-night, I found that our business was getting on so fast that the dissolution will take place in a fortnight."

Diary E. March 9 : "Papa returned at 6 and went down to the House where all Naval Estimates were passed."

12th : "Papa went to Devonport."

13th : "Papa held a very successful meeting at Devonport."

17th : "Papa returned. Mr. Lambert called about starting a Liberal for Westbury to keep up the spirit for the county election."

27th : "Papa elected at Devonport with Sir Erskine Perry. No opposition. Papa the popular member. Mr. Bagehot called."

The following is a correspondence which took place between Sir George C. Lewis and my father consequent on the Budget and Gladstone's attack, and the March elections due to the defeat of Government on the Chinese question.

Private

"15, HERTFORD ST.,
"MAYFAIR,
"March 5th, 1857.

"MY DEAR LEWIS,

"I have been thinking of your new plan of taking the Income Tax and the Sugar and Tea duties for a single year, and before you finally decide permit me to call your attention to what appear to me to be great disadvantages which will attend that course, while I

can discover no real advantage or facility that it will afford.

“First with regard to the Income Tax ; it is true that you will not require a realisation of the House, but all the discussions with which we are threatened will equally arise upon the bill, Headlam alone excepted, to which no importance is attached ; and at the most you would save one night.

“But the great and important view of the matter is, that to your scheme as a whole the House is committed by a majority of 80, Lord John and Sir F. Baring having spoken in favour of it ; and there having appeared not one single complaint from the country against it. The compromise of three years at *seven pence* has been accepted almost by acclamation, and the Govt. will receive now neither credit nor support by leaving the next two years open. We shall gain nothing but shall lose much.

“1. We shall be more open than ever to the charge of creating a deficiency in the next year by reducing the Income Tax now to 7*d.* and it will be said that we do this to obtain popularity at the elections, which effect it will not have.

“2. A far more serious evil will be, that if the Income Tax be not settled at 7*d.* now while you are giving a boon in exchange, you will not get it next year, when you have nothing to offer, and you will have the greatest possible difficulty in making ends meet ; indeed without the 7*d.* I do not see how it is to be done.

“3. If the Income Tax be settled now, when all are agreed, it will form no part of the Election cry, but if taken for a year and left open, the Peelites and Tories will make it an effective *cry*, and all will come up pledged to 5*d.* under the ‘compact of 1853.’ It will be a disastrous cry to our next two years’ finances.

“Finally, as no one objects to the compromise and settlement proposed, why should we voluntarily throw away an advantage gained, and lay up in store such difficulties for next session ?

“ Then as to the *Tea and Sugar Duties* : To take them for a single year will be regarded by all parties as an actual disadvantage :

“ 1. The Free Traders in the House will regard them in that light because no provision will be made for their decline to the lowest point which *all* look forward to.

“ 2. The traders will greatly dislike it, because it will leave them in the greatest uncertainty as to what will be done next year. In short we shall please no one and displease everyone.

“ As the budget now stands there is not a single point upon which a complaint exists in or out of the House, of the slightest importance except *one*, and that is in relation to *Tea* : and now that the Persian question is settled I think we might strain a point and make that concession, and then Lord John, the House and the Country will be met in everything. In that event you might be asked a question to-night, and might say, that the Persian question being settled, and seeing the strong feeling in favour of a uniform duty on Tea, that you had determined to concede the point and accept $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ for three years ; and that you stated it now to remove uncertainty from the trade as early as possible. That being done I do not believe you would have one difficulty to carry the budget as it stands, the enormous advantage of which you will feel a year hence, if as I hope may be the case, you are then Chancellor of the Exchequer.

“ At all events it is always most objectionable to alter a budget without the most urgent necessity and you could only at last if pressed to do so consent to take it for one year ; but to volunteer it, when no one asks for it, would weaken rather than strengthen us. *Don't let us leave the Income Tax open for an election cry, if we can possibly avoid it* ; but let us complete the compromise when the country is in the humour for it and *when it thinks it has so much the best of the bargain.*

“ My dear Lewis,

“ Yours truly,

“ JAMES WILSON.”

" 15, HERTFORD STREET,

" MAYFAIR,

" March 12/57.

" MY DEAR LEWIS,

" My private Sect^y has just brought me up the letter from the Fo: office about the Pisani picture. I heard yesterday after I saw you from Eastlake to the same effect. The Court has accepted the terms offered by us, and therefore all we can do is to close the bargain.

" About a fortnight ago, Eastlake brought a letter from Nundlers to the effect that they would sell it but for a price £350 above our offer. I told him to say that we w^d give no more and that if our offer was not accepted within three days we should be off the negotiation altogether ; that has brought it to a close ; the Consul acting upon the instructions he had through the Fo: office, nothing remains but to authorise him to carry out his instructions and see that all is safe ; which I propose to do through the Fo: Off: and at the same time to write to Sir H. Seymour at Vienna to secure the promise of the Austrian G^t made last autumn for permission to export it. All this is in order.

" Yours truly,

" JAMES WILSON."

The Pisani picture mentioned in this letter is the superb work by Paul Veronese in the National Gallery called "The family of Darius," which my father was instrumental in securing for the nation. The figures in it are portraits of the ancestors of the Pisani; who sold it to our Government for £13,650. Sir Charles Eastlake, then Director of the National Gallery and a friend of my father, had in the first place directed his attention to the great desirability of acquiring this splendid picture for the National Gallery. My father at once fell in with his views, and used all his influence to effect the purchase. During the debate in the House of Commons on the subject, one of the Radical Members who strongly opposed such a sum being granted for such a purpose, suggested in his speech that no doubt Sir Charles

Eastlake had advocated the purchase because most probably he had some personal pecuniary interest in the matter. My father rose at once, and in what was considered a fine speech, indignantly repudiated the insulting suggestion, adding how much he regretted that such a valuable public servant of Sir Charles Eastlake's high character and known integrity should have been subjected to a like insult in such a Tribunal as the House of Commons.

It was touching to notice how ever hereafter, by many kindly acts of friendship, Sir Charles and Lady Eastlake showed their gratitude to my father and his family for his having so valiantly protected the honour of his friend.

“DEVONPORT,

“*March 14th, 1857.*

“MY DEAR LEWIS,

“Thanks for your note. Everything is as smooth here as I could wish. Perry has promised to be a good boy for the future and rather than run any risk of dividing the liberal interest all have agreed to condone the offence and return us together. There is no talk of any opposition, nor the slightest probability of one. My reception has been of the kindest and most gratifying kind and they will not hear of my taking any trouble to canvass. Two public meetings is all they ask for. This is a wonderful contrast to the struggle for a small boro' of 300 Electors so evenly divided that no one could tell at any time on which side the majority lay.

“If you can bring this business in the House of Commons to a close on Wednesday, would it not be possible to prorogue and dissolve on Saturday so that the boro' elections might be all concluded within the following week which would be a great object ; thus not allowing Sunday to intervene. If the Appn. Bill is read a third time on Wed^y it might be read a first time in the Lords on the same day, a second time on Thursday, and a third time on Friday. Or even if only raised a first time in the Lords on Thursday it might be read

and passed on Saturday and the dissolution take place on that day.

"I held one meeting last night : I hold another on Monday in another district and go up on Tuesday. There is a strong feeling about McNeil and Tullock : I understand Ld. P. intended to do something for the latter in the shape of an honour. It is a question that will be worked against us at Liverpool and other places.

"Yours truly,

"JAMES WILSON.

"The change of air has done me good. I am much better."

From Devonport my father wrote :

"*March 27, 1857.*

"MY DEAR ELIZA,

"Nothing could be more satisfactory than the way in which the Election has passed off. Not a word of discord. The whole affair occupied about two hours, as cheerfully and tranquilly spent as any two hours of my life ; the whole of yesterday I rested and did not go out ; and to-day only to the Town Hall within which the Election took place. Lady Perry and some other ladies residing in the town were present. From all appearances this may be an easy and a permanent seat and very inexpensive. They are excellently disposed people. I think of going to-morrow to Lord Morley's and remaining there over the Sunday.

"On Monday evening we are to have a public soir  e and tea drinking and that is to finish the Election !"

The new Parliament met on April 30.

Lord Palmerston returned to power with the best majority he had ever had, elected distinctly for the purpose of supporting him personally and his policy in promoting the Crimean War. The election over, my father had enjoyed some relaxation at Claverton. After returning to London he writes, May 8 :

"I got safely to town. I met Lord Cork at the

station at Bath and we travelled together. The opening of Parliament has gone off extremely well. We are to have a New Bill and a Church Rule Bill this year and a Reform Bill next year. So the Liberals will not be disappointed.

"The dinner at Lord Palmerston's was very agreeable ; all in good spirits. I sat between Fredk. Peel and Sir John Ramsden, his successor. Sir Robt. has resigned, because, they say, his brother was made a Privy Councillor !"

Though made a Privy Councillor Frederick Peel lost his seat, likewise Cobden, Bright, Milner Gibson, Fox of Oldham, Cardwell and Layard. There was even an attempt to unseat Lord John Russell as member for the City, by the Liberal Registration Association, but it failed and he was returned by 7,000 votes. Bright soon regained a seat as Member for Birmingham, but two years elapsed before Cobden secured one. His great speech had done much to defeat the Government—it did still more to lose him his seat.

" DOWNING STREET,
" *April 1st, 1857.*

" MY DEAR WILSON,

" I quite agree with you that these elections have been a lesson to trimmers and waverers and self-seekers—men always thinking of themselves and of their own position, and refusing to give a fair support to a Government with whose policy on the whole they coincide. The rout of the Manchester party shows how dangerous it is to have only one idea, even if it be a right one, and to ride this one hobby so hard that none of the rest of the world can keep pace with you.

" The most inconvenient change as far as we are concerned is the ejection of Fred. Peel, for the War estimates will be the main point of attack, and it will be difficult for a new man to master them so as to be ready to meet all objections.

" The Chinese news, I hear, turns out to be without foundation.

"The Revenue account is most satisfactory. The million of Income Tax may be set off against the loss on malt, and there is, besides, postponed duty on tea and coffee nearly to the extent of a million, so that the real increase on the revenue within the year may be taken at about $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions. This result under a 16 penny Income Tax is encouraging for future years.

"I am glad to hear that your election passed off so quietly, and that your health is mending. Pray try, if you can, what would be the effect of a few days idleness.

"There is a report that Cobden is dead, but I do not know whether it has any foundation.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"G. C. LEWIS."

"KENT HOUSE,

"April 5th 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"The paper about currants which you had the kindness to send me is curious. Such statements are not very encouraging with respect to the reduction of duties. I have been considering with Trevor the question of a succession duty on Corporation property, which Gladstone raised as a sort of excuse for the non-productiveness of his tax. In the first place, his estimate of 2 millions was, I believe, quite independent of the Corporation tax. Trevor says that it was Gladstone's own estimate, and not furnished by him, or by anybody in his office. But in the next place, the argument against such a tax seems to me quite conclusive, as I will explain to you when we meet. What, however, is more important than all is that Trevor thinks that the expense of collection would exceed the amount collected. He says he would not take the tax if it was given him subject to the costs of collection. Altogether, therefore, a more hopeless concern I never knew than this Corporation succession tax. The impression is that when Parliament meets, Gladstone will cross the House and sit below the gangway. I doubt his doing so, unless Graham and Sidney Herbert go above the gangway, which I do not expect.

"There has been a promise to advance £50,000 to Finsbury to assist them in making a park. It is to cost altogether £200,000, of which the locality of the Metropolitan Board of Works is to find £150,000. I enclose the note of a Deputation which Lord Palmerston gave me. I am afraid that we shall have difficulty with it—and there would be advantage in postponing it till another year. I should be glad if you would send for Mr. Layton or Mr. Ludlow whose names are in the list, and would ascertain some of the particulars of the plan. They have had no communication with me.

"The state of the War Department with reference to the Army estimates is most inconvenient. I have told Lord P. that in case of necessity you and I would undertake to manage them, but the House will not like to see the Dept. unrepresented at such a moment, and the expectants on our side will be eager for a change. I regret Peel's loss exceedingly, for I think he has a good head, but if he really cannot get a seat, it is vain to make the attempt of going on without a representative of the War Dept. in Parliament.

"What does Gladstone mean by saying that the expenditure ought to be reduced by *six* millions? Surely he cannot maintain that the civil expenditure has increased by *two* millions since 1853. Does he forget that £1,200,000 is merely transfer? It will be a great matter to have the Estimates discussed in the House, and to bring all this declamation to a point.

"I heard nothing in the country which makes me think that, *at this moment*, the people are uneasy about taxation, or dissatisfied about the amount of the reductions. I see that the cry about the cessation of the Income Tax in 1860 is repeated here and there, as if there was a charm in that year, but no particular stress is laid upon it at present, nor is anything said about the difference between *5d.* and *7d.* On the whole, I doubt whether much can be made out of finance—either in the way of expenditure or taxation—against the Govt. during this Session. The difficulty will begin next

year, but if the revenue does well, that difficulty will be overcome.

"Pray tell me what you hear of the views entertained about the Speakership—I fear that Wortley's health puts him out of the question.

"F. Peel had, in my opinion, a perfectly safe seat at Leominster, if he had chosen to remain there. Why he gave it up, I never could discover. At Bury he has been thrown out by local family influences. There was, I hear, nothing political in the contest.

"We have carried a liberal for Herefordshire by a majority of 900 in grand style. The county would not stand a second dose of 3 tories.

"There is a cabinet on the 16th. I go home to-morrow and shall return to town on the 14th or 15th.

"Ever yours sincerely,
"G. C. LEWIS."

"CLAVERTON MANOR,

"*Apl. 7/57.*

"MY DEAR LEWIS,

"I have your letter of the 5th to-day. The history of the succession tax and its application to corporations was this : When the Bill was first drawn and introduced, corporations to the best of my belief had never been thought of, and Gladstone estimated the tax to yield from other property £2,000,000. The Equity Lawyers in the House were disposed to laugh at the estimate and said it would give nearer *four or five millions* ! Gladstone retorted that the department (Trevor) did not even go so high as he did ; from the best of my recollection Trevor estimated it at £1,500,000 at full bearing. The question of Corporations was first, I am almost certain, raised in Committee upon the Bill and I remember reference was made in particular to the large estates of the Corpⁿ of London in the North of Ireland ; and a sort of understanding was arrived at in the House that a bill would be brought in the following year, charging corporations upon the principle I explained to you taking an annual payment which should be equivalent

to the average succession tax paid by private estates ; but with a distinct understanding that all corporate property belonging to charitable institutions should be exempted. This was in 1854 ; and I remember having frequent conversation with Gladstone upon the subject afterwards, and that the result of the enquiry we made was, that so large a proportion of those properties would come under that exemption that the rest would yield almost nothing and would not pay for the expense. I speak now from recollection after four years, but my impression is clear that we entirely abandoned the intention of introducing the Bill for these reasons. If not, why was it not brought in during 1854 when, Heaven knows, we wanted money badly enough ? A whole session passed between the Act as it is passing and Gladstone leaving office.

“ What a wretched thing it is to see a man of Gladstone’s post and position playing the part of a mere election mob orator, condescending to clap-traps and misrepresentations that would do credit to a country attorney only. I hear that Graham declares that Gladstone has gone over to the Tories, or that there has been a split among the Peelites ; but the language Sidney Herbert has been holding in Wilts leads me to doubt it. He had a hard fight and did not win by a very large majority. I did all I could in my place (Westbury) for him and Wyndham, as it would never have done to let Ld. H. Thynne in ; they (the Thynnes) are rabid Derbyites. If Sandford had stood for the Southern division of this county he would have had an easy win. However our gains are as numerous as we shall know what to do with. A Reform Bill has become for the third time a political necessity, when there is really no more demand for it in men’s hearts than for the repeal of the Union. It is a barren ‘ cry ’ but will under the circumstances have to be satisfied ; and it will be a difficult task. Lord John committed the Govt. to a Reform Bill in 1851 and it turned us out in 1852 ; the coalition G^t in 1853 promised a Reform Bill in 1854 as

a sop to the Radical party, and I am certain the one proposed would not have been carried. I have a little modest Reform Bill in my pocket which I think could be carried without trouble and would answer all the purposes if too much parade was not made ; it consists of *three* simple articles ; but if we have to take a whole year to cogitate, digest and perfect, some grander and more imposing measure will be looked for. And yet there will be little time this year to do anything ; a fortnight after we begin business we shall have the Whitsun holidays and the Session after that is not worth much.

“ Fred: Peel is not popular, but he has a good head, great industry and sufficient ambition to make a very useful man hereafter ; he learns quickly and has already a great deal of experience for so young a man. It would be a great pity if he should drop out of the rank and I fancy L^d. Palmerston w^d. not without wasting a very *generous* time like to see it. Luckily the absence of the other three will not be felt at all, Labouchere being in the House of C. and the community well represented. I don't think we sh^d. find it very difficult to get up the matter of the estimates with the general knowledge that L^d. Palmerston has himself and the indulgence that under the circumstances the House would give us, to answer things the next day ; for we must bear in mind that any new man would be under even greater difficulties than we should, from the certain amount of knowledge that we have from *all* the war papers from day to day having passed through my hands at the Treasury.

“ I am going to have a thorough and careful analysis of the Civil Service Estimates made from 1853 to this year to enable us to meet Gladstone. We shall have to keep Hall down with his Parks and Palaces.

“ As long as people are as well off as they are now, the economical fit in the House for Party purposes will find no response out of doors : Nobody heeds what they say : But let us have a little adversity among Farmers or Merchants and then any pretender will be listened to.

“ I am uneasy about the Superannuation question. We have been regularly bamboozled into that dilemma by some *half-dozen* of men at the top of the tree, who should be cashiered for the mischief they have done to the public service. It is a case of sheer insubordination. If Trevelyan and Bromley had happened to have entered the service before 1829, we sh^d. never have heard a word about the matter, and if we had, they would have been the greatest sticklers for the compact under which the service had been recruited since 1829. The feeling of the service is much exaggerated, I had three deputations at Devonport about it, and not one of them complained, except upon the absurd fallacy put forth that the contribution is more than is required and that we make a profit by it. If we give way the Public will be juggled out of £100,000 a year, the interest of £3,000,000 on consols, in the most flagrant way without receiving a penny for it in return, and what I feel most, is that after the service has been treated so generously and all their salaries revised so recently, then comes this *indiscriminate* increase of 5 per cent. to everyone.

“ There is great diversity of opinion about the Speakership. I suppose no one in the Cabinet except Baines would take it, and I should much doubt if he has decision enough for it ; nor do I fancy Wortley would do so much as people think even if his health suited. The two best men in the House, as we decided here the other night, are in the Cabinet, and neither likely to take it. The first was yourself—the next, Sir George Grey, if his health would stand. To go further I really don't think any man could do it better than Fitzroy. They say he has a bad temper but he has never shown it in the Chair in Committees and he knows the forms of the House well.

“ I have been thinking that some very temperately and moderately written articles in the *Economist* upon the Bank Act of 1844, showing in what respect it is really valuable, and works out sound principles, and in what respect it fails, especially as regards the unsatisfactory

position in which it leaves the country circulation, would be useful. Do you see any objection that could be taken at this state of the case to such a discussion? We must do something at all events with the Country Banks; I have been looking into it—the case is as rotten a one as could be presented to a Committee. Have you seen Tooke and Newmarsh's new Book? I have sent for it. Michel Chevalier has been writing some good articles in the *Débats* on the subject. I had a letter the other day from Villemain—he speaks more hopefully of the new régime and seems more reconciled. My leg has been mending very *slowly*: But the last two days it seems to have taken a favourable start. I was going to Town to-day but when I found you had left I deferred going for a few days.

“Yours truly,
“JAMES WILSON.”

“HARPTON,
“11 April, 1857.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“I am much obliged to you for your long & interesting letter. Your history of the Corporation succession tax makes the matter quite clear. Gladstone used the non-introduction of this tax as a proof of my remissness, & as an explanation of the falling short of his succession duty from his Estimate. Now it is plain—1. That he himself abandoned the intention of proposing the tax before he left office, for conclusive reasons. 2. That his estimate was independent of this additional tax. A man must be hard driven who has recourse to such a line of argument. Gladstone has been repeating over & over again to the people in Flintshire that the miscellaneous Estimates have been increased 2 millions since 1853. Now literally this is true—but the real increase is £800,000, the rest being merely transfer from the consolidated fund. As this was Gladstone's own measure, it is inconceivable that there should be any mistake. It must have been downright, wilful deception. Somehow or other not only Peelites & Cobdenites, but

bores have been dropped out in this election. Only conceive a House without Apsley, Pellatt, Scobell, Dunne, Murrough, Dr. Michell, Baillie Cochrane or Otway—to say nothing of Layard or Milner Gibson.

“I have heard nothing about official arrangements since I left town. I see that the *Times* announces that E. Denison is to be Speaker, & the *Morning Advertiser* that Lord Panmure is to be succeeded by Sidney Herbert. The latter arrangement would remove the difficulty about F. Peel, but I have heard nothing of such a plan from any authentic source. I can’t help thinking that Fitzroy would make a better Speaker than anybody else who is in question. The *Times* objects to Baines that he is too old, but E. Denison must be older.

“The division of the Govt. against Locke King’s Bill has given an impulse to Reform, & on a small scale has acted like the Duke of Wellington’s declaration in 1830. I thought at the time it was a mistake & regretted the change of decision—for the Cabinet had decided to agree to the introduction of the Bill. My Reform Bill, like yours, consists of three points. I shall be curious to see whether we coincide.

“I see no objection to a series of articles in the *Economist* such as you mention. On the contrary, I think they would be very useful. You will see in the report of Weguelin’s Evidence that I put some questions to him on the subject. It is difficult to know what Peel’s ulterior policy was, but I have little doubt that what he intended to do, if he could, was to extinguish all Banks of Issue except the Banks of England & Ireland. As this policy seems now pretty generally abandoned, I do not see how we can stand permanently on our present ground.

“The elections have taken several men out of the Bank Charter Committee—but what is most material, they have taken away the chairman. Cardwell is a great loss, both on this & on Baring’s Committee. What do you think of asking Sir J. Graham to take the chair? I am not sure that he would consent, but I really cannot

think of anybody else, who is tolerably impartial. Gladstone has become so wild & demagogical that one is afraid of asking him to do anything which requires moderation & judgment.

"There is no conceivable reason why we should make a present of £60,000 a year to the Civil Service—without any equivalent whatever. I pressed this strongly on the Committee last year, & when it came to the point, they flinched from recommending it. I think the present system a bad one, as liable to misunderstanding, & giving rise to complaints, which though wholly unfounded, are difficult to answer. The reduction of the Income tax on small incomes will have *some* effect in stilling the agitation.

"I have looked through a good deal of the new volumes of Tooke—they contain much valuable matter to be put on record, but as far as I have gone, nothing very new in the way of opinion. Gladstone's 2 millions of succession duty is registered as an *actual receipt*. They lay it down that the gold supplies have *not* influenced prices—which I believe to be true. The whole of Tooke's Bank Pamphlet of last year is incorporated.

"I am sorry to hear what you say about your leg. Don't be in a hurry to return to town. I shall stay here till the 15th. There is a Cabinet on the following day.

"Would it be possible to have an article on Coode's Report on the Fire Insurance Duty, containing a summary of his arguments, drawn up for the *Economist*? I see that people go on repeating the old claptrap about "tax on Prudence!"

"Ever yrs sincerely,
"G. C. LEWIS."

"DOWNING STREET,
"April 22nd, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I have nothing very particular to tell you. Parlt. will meet on the 30th and the speech will be delivered by commission, probably on the following

Thursday. Horsman¹ has resigned his office—and successors to him, as well as to Peel, Ball and Monck will be appointed as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made.

“The Undersecretaryship of the War Dept. will probably be offered to Fitzroy, and Monsell will succeed Ball, the Board of Health being abolished. This, however, must not be mentioned for the present.

“Ever yours sincerely,

“G. C. LEWIS.”

¹ Horsman was Irish Secretary under Palmerston, 1855-8.

CHAPTER XX

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE DURING SUMMER AND AUTUMN OF 1857

“DOWNING STREET,
“ 1 May, 1857.

“ MY DEAR WILSON,

“ Pray have the kindness to cast your eyes over the enclosed speech, which has been prepared for publication as a pamphlet. I hesitate, however, about publishing it, for two reasons. First, that the plan of a three years' settlement is abandoned. Second—that if new taxes should prove necessary, people may say that I did not give them sufficient notice. On the general principle of not stirring up discussion, it might be politic to abstain. On the other hand, the speech contains some useful facts and statistics, which it would be well to impress on the public. Pray let me know what you think.

“ I have seen Ld. Chichester and Walpole, who say that they do not ask for an increase of their *vote*, but merely permission to take so much more from the Church funds. This alters the complexion of the case.

“ Ever yours,
“ G. C. LEWIS.”

“DOWNING STREET,
“ 29 August, 1857.

“ MY DEAR WILSON,

“ It has been decided to give to a company which will lay down a cable from Aden to Alexandria a contingent guarantee—similar to those already agreed to—for £20,000 a year, to be divided between the Govt. and the E. I. Company. It is intended to limit it to 5 years. . . .

"The accounts which the Govt. received to-day from India are on the whole more unfavourable than the telegraphic dispatches. They exhibit general disorganisation and defection, and much apprehension for the future. Cawnpore, however, has been retaken, while Agra and Lucknow hold out. It is clear that the siege of Delhi is for the present merely nominal."

"DOWNING STREET,

"Aug. 31, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"We have had a long cabinet to-day, with a small attendance, on India affairs.

"The two chairs were present. The military arrangements contemplated will meet the views both of the Governor-General and of the Court of Directors. I mentioned what you said about the submarine telegraph, and it was thought that our bargain ought not to exceed 10, and at the utmost 15 years. I trust that this term will be sufficient for the market.

"I am sorry to hear of your attack, but I trust that you will soon get over it.

"I enclose a communication received from Lord P.

"Ever yours sincerely

"G. C. LEWIS."

* * * * *

"I should be glad if Mr. Wilson would prepare an answer to this proposal, agreeing to it for a limited term—say 5 years.

"The Company should be informed that the money will have to be annually voted by the House of Commons.

"Proper names should be taken for obtaining correct accounts of the receipts from private messages, as this sum will have to be deducted annually from the £20,000."

"HARPTON,

"Sept. 3, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"The Minute will do very well, and provides properly for the various contingencies. The only doubt

I have is whether it is worth while to make a bargain with the Company about completing the line eastward of Aden, as they have no money to spare just now, and do not lack will. However, if they object, they can say so.

"I am in hopes that the best arrangements for sending troops to India have been made which the circumstances admit. People forget that it takes time to recruit, and to train, and to send the men to India, and then to march up the country.

"I read Macaulay's speeches in the train. It seems to me that their reputation is not equal to their merit."

Lord Palmerston writes :

"BROCKET,
"7th Sept., 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I think the terms which we propose to agree to in regard to this telegraphic line from Alexandria to Aden are high as compared with the advantage we are to derive from it ; on the other Hand if the East India Company will engage to complete the line from Aden to Kurrachee, and are able to make good their engagement within a year, we shall obtain complete communication between London and Calcutta though we shall on the whole be paying rather too much for it.

"The choice however seems to lie between adopting this Plan, always supposing that the E. I. Co. will carry on the line from Aden to Kurrachee, or as the other alternative saying that we will not deal with any Company that will not undertake to make the whole Line from Alexandria to Kurrachee, and that we will in some way or other secure to such Company (that is to say we and the E. I. Co. together) five per cent. on their expended Capital. Perhaps the E. I. Co. may prefer making the Line across the Indian Sea, and may not chuse to have a private Company establishing themselves at Kurrachee ; if that is so, then this proposed arrangement would be the best.

"Yours sincerely,
"PALMERSTON."

"THE LEYL., NR. MONMOUTH,
" 11 Sept., 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I have been absent from home for a couple of days, but I have received the case which you have sent me, and will lose no time in reading the papers and giving you the best opinion I am able upon the questions involved. It is, as you say, very fortunate that the corn-law question was well settled before the Russian war broke out, and that the Russian war was over before the Indian revolt began. At the same time, I do not feel sure that a Govt. which had the corn-law question in its hands would ever have involved the country in a war on account of the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea. When our hands are full of domestic affairs, we have little attention to spare on foreign quarrels. Idleness is the mother of mischief, and when we are busy about our internal disputes, we are not looking out for grounds of dispute with our neighbours. On the other hand, the continuance of the Russian war would have been quite inconsistent with the suppression of the Indian Mutinies, and if peace had not been made before now, we must have chosen between a sudden settlement with Russia on such terms as we could obtain, or an abandonment of India.

"Our consols not only keep up well, but even Exchequer Bills cut a pretty fair figure. The bullion at the Bank is $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The trade returns are prosperous, and if the handful of European troops in the North of India can hold their ground until November, we may hope to get through this crisis without any serious wound to our prosperity. On the other hand, if things become worse, and if the Bombay and Madras armies rise against us, I hardly know what to look to. The people of this country will never consent to lose India—they will recover it at any price, and will go on playing Double or Quits till they win.

"Even without the horrible cruelties inflicted on women and children the determination would have been

strong, but when the feeling of vengeance for these fearful outrages is added, all idea of temporizing or hesitation will be banished. My notion is, that the articles in the *Times* fairly express the general sentiment on the subject.

“The acquisition of India, and the changes which its Govt. has undergone, is one of the most curious chapters in the history of this or any other country. After having about 1783 been the subject of the most violent party contests which our Parliament ever witnessed, and having decided the fate of Govts. and parties, it has, by the operation of Pitt’s measure, been withdrawn from Parliamentary conflict, and to a great extent from Parliamentary debate and observation. The result is, that its proceedings are little watched by the Cabinet; the essence of which at present is to be a committee for preparing and guiding parliamentary business.

“The characteristic feature of the India Govt. is that its *home* govt. as well as its *local* Govt. is peculiar. So far as India itself is concerned; its Govt. is merely a colonial govt. on a larger and more elaborate and more self-supporting scale, but instead of having a colonial office at Downing St., it has a Court of Directors in Leadenhall St., who are only controlled by a department of the executive. Now it is true that this control is *legally* pretty absolute; but *practically*, everything that is done in England is done by the Court, unless the Board think fit to interfere. If, in accordance with what seems a prevailing wish, the action of the Queen’s Govt. upon the Local Indian Govt. is made more rapid and direct, its responsibility will be increased—there will be more motive for discussing India questions in Parl^t and the Govt. will be forced to know more of what is going on in India than they know at present. It is certain that we have been too much in a fool’s paradise, and that, in this sense, more discussion in Parliament would have done good. If, however, a more direct action of the Queen’s Govt. upon India is to imply a stronger influence of English opinion, I do not see any means of avoiding an

increase of those errors into which our well-meant, Europeanizing, Christianizing, and de-Indianizing policy has led us.

"If you have any leisure to bestow upon reading speeches, I think you would be rewarded by reading Macaulay's volume. As speeches, they seem to me far superior to any other since Canning's—some passages about Peel are among the happiest I ever read. I cannot understand what is meant by treating Macaulay as a merely literary man. He has not been much of a practical statesman, a man of business, but as a political speaker he seems to me far away the best of his generation.

"As soon as the telegraph is received, a day for the Cabinet will be fixed, and my present intention is to come up for it. I expect it will be Tuesday or Wednesday next. I feel sure that some company will make a submarine line to India, but it is much better for the Govt. to keep clear of it.

"Ever yours sincerely,
"G. C. LEWIS."

"HARPTON,
"23rd September, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I have been in correspondence with Weguelin about the two millions. The Bank will be ready to advance the money by Christmas, but he thinks that they will prefer *Bonds* to *Bills*, on account of the term of repayment later. He says, however, that they must be taken under par, to [words erased] sale for the higher rate of interest on Bills.

"I have written to Anderson on the subject, but have not yet received his answer. I agree with you that Bills leave us more freedom, inasmuch as the time of repayment is not fixed, so that it cannot be anticipated or postponed. There is no necessity for an immediate decision. The Bills stand well in the market now, and if they remain at their present interest till the end of the year, I see no reason why the Bank should not take two million in Bills,

which could be transferred to Spearman when he is paid off after Easter.

"After what I heard from the War Department and Admiralty, I am rather disappointed in the estimated state of the balances for the farming dividend. However you are quite right in your doctrine about revenue, with little corresponding benefit. However, I still think it desirable, and I am also thinking of equalizing the Customs and Excise duties on hops, with a view of putting the beer trade on a sound footing. The Customs duty is now about double the Excise duty. I was thinking of reducing the Customs duty about 5s. per annum on £2 per cwt. until it reached £1, which is about the present Excise duty. This measure would make a great outcry in the three hop-growing counties, and it would be opposed on the ground of its ruining a large working population who have grown up in certain places under shelter of the present protection. There would be a loud local outcry. On the other hand, the malt-growing interest either would, or ought to be, in favour of the equalisation.

"Hop-growing, like other protected trades, is a gambling, uncertain, and often ruinous business. There is a perpetual difficulty about the payment of the duty. Pray tell me whether you think the game would be worth the candle. There is no doubt as to what is right, both in this case and that of brandy. With regard to the hop-cultivating population, it is to be observed that there never was a time for more." (Unfinished.)

"HARPTON,

"27th September, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"... I think that the subject of Joint Stock Banks will be discussed next Session. I am against all Government interference with these concerns—or any Government responsibility for them, but it is clear that at present the shareholders are liable to be robbed to any extent by roguish directors, and that the fear of impairing the credit of the Bank by forcing disclosures deters prudent shareholders from asking dangerous questions.

"Shelley's Bill ought never to have been passed. The fact is, that the clause in Peel's Act was not sufficiently stringent.

"I will write to Lord Carlisle about the money for the obelisk.

"The article on the price of the funds in the last *Economist* is, I think, very good—I do not expect to see consols above 95 for the present.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"G. C. LEWIS."

"HARPTON,

"Oct. 24, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I have read the correspondence in the Pisani case, which is a singular exhibition of Lord Stratford's violence & injustice. It is clear that for some reason he had taken offence at Pisani, & had made a favourite of Revelaki : that he was determined to get rid of the former, either virtually, by putting him aside, or actually, by removing him—that the resignation provoked by his ill-treatment took him by surprise, & that he therefore made a faint effort to bring about its recall, but that when it was persisted in, he did his best by giving an unfair turn to the story about the land, to ruin him in the estimation of the Govt. There is one point in the case which the Foreign Office letter does not touch. Perhaps Pisani was justified in trying to obtain the confirmation of the grant after his resignation had been accepted, although this is doubtful, for he unquestionably obtained it *in his capacity of Dragoman*, but if he comes to the Govt. as an applicant for a pension, he ought to come with clean hands, & this he does not do, if his acceptance of the land without Lord Stratford's permission is objectionable. It does not lie in his mouth to say that he applies for the confirmation of the grant & the conveyance of the land because his connexion with the English Govt. has ceased, & at the same time to petition that Govt. for a pension. This is a point which the Treasury would have to con-

sider before they granted a pension, because otherwise Lord S. might say that he had, *in addition to his pension*, obtained a direct pecuniary benefit from his office, which Lord S. estimates at £10,000 & Pisani himself at £3000

"It is difficult to understand how a man in Lord Stratford's position should wish to retain his office after such a correspondence.

"The state of things is obviously mending in the City, & if no change now takes place in the wrong direction, the Bank will be able to lower their rate in the course of November.

"Yours ever sincerely,
"G. C. LEWIS."

"HARPTON,
"Oct. 27, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"... The 8 per cent. has certainly passed off more quietly than I expected, but we have not seen the end yet. The bullion, I fear, has yet to stand a heavy pull, and we must expect to see a further reduction of its amount.

"I have only received to-day your letter of the 24th and therefore I direct to London, where you say you will be to-morrow.

"Do you anticipate that the shipments of silver to India will have much effect on the Bank reserve of bullion?"

"HARPTON,
"28th October, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I hear that some of the agents of the Western Bank, who have made a fruitless attempt to obtain assistance from the Bank of England, talked of getting assistance from the *Government*. If you hear of any such extravagant idea, pray put an immediate extinguisher upon it. The Government have no means of providing funds for banks which cannot pay their creditors. This Bank, though it has made enormous advances, has also securities to a great extent, and its state is probably sound.

If it is, the other Scotch banks will doubtless come forward, and extricate it from its difficulties, but this is its only mode of escape from its embarrassments.

"The fall of Delhi, at the first assault, and without any large loss of life, ought to produce a great moral effect over the whole of India, and it must influence the financial position of the Government. The loan ought to fill better, and the silver ought to emerge from its various hiding places. It seems to me now that the continued allegiance of Bombay and Madras, and the gradual reduction of the North as reinforcements arrive, are as certain as anything future in such a country as India can be.

"I do not come up for this Cabinet, but I will come if I am wanted for anything else.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"G. C. LEWIS.

"P.S. The Governor of the Bank accepts for the Superannuation Commission, which will consist of Monck, Ryan, Spearman and himself, with a *fifth* if one can be found. Glyn has refused.

"Do you think that Mitchell, the member, would do? or Norman, the Bank Director? Can you suggest a good commercial man? Would Lang be suitable?"

"HARPTON,

"30th October, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I have heard from the Governor of the Bank that they agree to making the return as desired. The arrangement will, I suppose, now go forward.

"The negotiation with the Borough Bank fell through, after everything had been arranged. The Western Bank is to be helped. I hear that the Duke of Hamilton and Baird come forward. The storm is evidently clearing off in the City. The American remedy is, as you say, a queer one. But one may say of them, as Lord Melbourne said of ladies—They do such damned odd things.

"Some of the Press are trying to undervalue the importance of the fall of Delhi, but they will make no impression. The *bon sens vulgaire* (as some French writer calls it) will be too strong for them.

"Ever yours,

"G. C. LEWIS."

"HARPTON,

"31 Oct., 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I have written to Lord Belper to ask him to serve on the Superannuation Commission—of the names proposed, his seemed to me the best. Bonamy Price would be a useful colleague, but the public do not know his name, & I suppose that he would expect to be paid.

"I was already in correspondence with Rupley about the possibility of commuting the malt & hops into a beer duty, when I received your remarks on the subject. What was done in the session of '55 respecting spirits affords a facility which never existed before for this change; inasmuch as it entirely disengages malt from spirits. Private brewing is the great obstacle, & I confess that I do not well see how it is to be got over. However I have set Rupley & Dobson at work to consider means. There is no doubt that it is the right fiscal arrangement.

"Did you ever hear any calculation of the loss to the revenue from the exemption of cider from duty?

"We have such fine weather to-day that I think Martinmas summer has come by anticipation.

"Ever yrs sincerely,

"G. C. LEWIS."

"HARPTON,

"Nov. 3, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I received your letter yesterday, and had some conversation on the subject of the Indian Telegraph with Lord Clarendon, who has been here a couple of days, and went away this morning. I agree with you substantially on the question, but the difficulty is to know

what to do when different Departments take such opposite views. The word *monopoly* has a formidable sound, but this country would have been many millions the richer, hundreds of ruined shareholders would now be receiving 5 per cent., and passengers would be paying lower fares, if that inapplicable principle of competition had not been imported into our railway system. If Peel had considered the recondite truth that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points, he would have seen that the principle of multiplying roads between two given points is essentially vicious. The question is, can any better line be found than that from Corfu to Alexandria, and so to Suez and Kurrachee. If not, the objection of monopoly is worthless. I am quite decided against the Govt. laying down a line, or making itself responsible for any part of the concern.

“Edwin Hill has written me a long letter, proposing an enquiry by agents or commissioners appointed by *our* Govt., into the character and causes of the late monetary crisis in the United States. Such an enquiry might lead to valuable information and suggestions, but it would be very difficult to conduct it so as to avoid giving offence to that most irritable race—the people of the United States. Does it seem to you that the idea deserves serious consideration?

“I intend to return to town either on Saturday or on Monday next.

“Yours very sincerely,
“G. C. LEWIS.”

“KENT HOUSE,
“Nov. 15, 1857.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“I intend to go to the Council at Windsor to-morrow, & shall probably be unable to come to Downing St.

“The Bank increased their excess yesterday to above half a million—so at least Spearman brought word. The Governor of the Bank advises that there should be no funding of Exchequer Bills until after the payment of the

January dividends, or at least until the present agitation has subsided. He is also against raising the rate of int^t on India bonds. I have made an appointment for Tuesday, when I shall have his views more in detail.

"Norman *approves* of the Govt. letter. This is remarkable—for in theory he & Loyd are, I apprehend, one. There is a stupid Article on the subject in the *Examiner*, probably written by Crawford, & one in the *Spectator*, which exactly reproduces the ideas in Overstone's letter to Arbuthnot, though the style is not good enough for him. On the whole, the Press have treated the measure as favourably as they ever treat anything which they do not quite understand, & of which the consequences are still uncertain.

"I am desirous of preparing for the consideration of the Cabinet a draft of a Bill authorising the Govt. to do by order in Council what it has now twice done without legal authority, *viz.*: to suspend the limit upon the note circulation of the Bank. I wish you would consider the best mode of effecting this object. I doubt the possibility of defining, even in the most general manner, the circumstances under which this power is to be issued—such as rate of discount, amount of bullion, &c.—but this is a point to be considered—with regard to the Irish & Scotch Acts, it seems to me that their provisions require permanent amendment, as to which we wait for the Report of the Committee.

"I think the Bill of Indemnity must be a distinct measure, which should pass before Christmas. The other should be a Bill of one or a few clauses, which could be introduced immediately, and might make what progress it could before Christmas.

"My belief is that nothing would contribute more to the vitality of the *principle* of the Act, than the demolition of that partition wall between the two departments of the Bank, and the visible fusion of all its credit into one whole. However, I suppose that its champions would rather be burnt at Smithfield, or shot from a cannon's mouth, than give it up.

"If last week, the Bank, in order to protect itself, had refused further discounts (which they must have done on Friday, if the letter had not been issued), further failures would have occurred, the panic would have become more intense and more general, and would have spread to depositors in safe and well managed banks. The London Bankers would then have been forced to draw their deposits out of the Bank. The Banking Department would have been insolvent, with a reserve of 6 to 7 millions of bullion in the Issue Department, and the question would have arisen of a suspension of cash payments.

"I can understand the Issue Department on the principle that it is a stepping stone to an entire separation, and to a Government Bank of Issue for the entire country, but I do not understand it as a permanent institution.

"If Peel had any clearly-conceived intention, he probably meant it for the former purpose, but it is very dangerous to have an esoteric policy, unrevealed to the public, on such a subject as this.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"G. C. LEWIS.

"My present idea is to move simply the reappointment of the Bank Acts Committee, and to move that it be an instruction to them to enquire into the late commercial distress."

"HARPTON,

"30th December, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"Some weeks ago Edwin Hill wrote me a letter suggesting that a commission composed of Englishmen should be sent to the United States to enquire into the causes and character of the late crisis and to report thereon. The answer I made him was that the object was a good one, but the means suggested would give offence to that very thin-skinned community, the Americans.

“ On reading the article in last week’s *Economist*, it has struck me that it would be very useful if the truth of the matter could be known, and I do not see why Lord Napier should not be authorised to employ some *American* to make an enquiry and report on the matter. For this purpose it would be necessary to send out instructions which would direct attention to the difference between note issues and other forms of credit, and would cause the enquirer to ascertain the respective shares of discredit and insolvency due to these two agencies.

“ Pray tell me what you think of this idea. Lord N. might communicate with the American Government on the subject, so as to avoid all appearance of disrespect. Something complimentary might be thrown in about the President’s message.

“ Probably a payment of £200 or thereabouts would suffice.

“ Ever yours sincerely,
“ G. C. LEWIS.”

CHAPTER XXI

ABOLITION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY—IMBROGLIO WITH FRANCE OVER THE ORSINI ATTACK ON EMPEROR —DEFEAT OF GOVERNMENT

IN the political world, one measure was passed in Parliament vitally affecting my father's future.

On February 12, 1858, Lord Palmerston introduced his Bill for abolishing the East India Company, which measure meant that the Government of India would be under the direct control of the Crown. The East India Company did not like to be abolished, and before Lord Palmerston brought forward his Bill in the Commons a petition was presented to the House of Lords, supported by Lord Grey, urging the retention of the Company. The great philosopher, John Stuart Mill, then held the place of Examiner at the India House, and had been in the service of the Company for more than thirty years. He penned the petition and certainly made the best possible case for the Company, but for some time past its fate had been practically doomed. Lord Aberdeen, for one, had urged that the Government of India should be conducted under the immediate supervision of the Crown. The Mutiny may have accelerated the abolition of the Company, but it did not originate the idea. The philosopher of the House of Commons, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, made out the best case for its abolition, but probably the wisdom of neither of these two philosophers carried so much weight as Lord Palmerston's argument, more easily understood by the Members of the House, namely—that there was practical inconvenience, referred to by him in his matter-of-fact, jaunty

manner, of having the jurisdiction of India carried on in two localities in London, in the India House in Leadenhall Street, and in the India Board in Cannon Row.

The Bill provided for a Secretary of State for India in the Cabinet and a Parliamentary Secretary sitting in the House of Commons ; eight members of Council who had previously resided and served in India and not in Parliament and an Executive Council in India appointed by the Governor-General.

Eventually this Executive Council was changed to the Supreme Council of India, the members of which were appointed by the Secretary of State in England.

The Conservative Party had taken strong objection to the Bill, and went so far as to divide against its introduction ; the ground on which they opposed the Bill was that no India Bill was required at that time. Mr. Thomas Baring did his best to carry through the views of the Opposition, but, notwithstanding his highly respected position in the House, his task failed. After 'three nights' debate it was granted that the Bill was to be brought in by a large majority, and Lord Palmerston triumphed, and the new arrangements to be made when the control of her Majesty's possessions in India were placed directly under the Crown were defined, and the Bill became law. Undoubtedly the idea of being governed directly by the Queen was more attractive to the native imagination than being under the control partly of the Company—though the Company had ceased to be in any wise a commercial enterprise for some time past.

It was on November 1, 1858, that Lord Canning, Viceroy now as well as Governor-General, issued at Allahabad the Proclamation that all Acts relating to the Government of India would be effected in the name of the Sovereign.

It was the pen of Lord Derby, who was then Prime Minister, that wrote this exceedingly fine document :

"Firmly relying on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we

disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. It is our royal will and pleasure that no one shall in any wise suffer for his opinions, or be disquieted by reason of his religious faith or observance. We shall shew to all alike the equal impartial protection of the Law, and we do strictly charge and enjoin those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure. It is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever class or creeds, be fully and freely admitted to any offices, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, abilities, and integrity duly to discharge."

This Proclamation granted a general amnesty to all except those directly implicated in the murderous horrors of the Mutiny, and proved a triumph to the policy of Lord Canning, and before the end of the year the last vestiges of the rebellion had disappeared.

The same mail which brought the Queen's Proclamation announced to Lord Canning that he was the first Viceroy of India. In his acknowledgment to the Queen of his new dignity he said :

"It is Lord Canning's earnest hope and prayer that, so long as this high function shall be in his trust, it may be administered in a spirit not unworthy of your Majesty, and that when he shall deliver it again into your hands, it may be found to be without spot or stain from any act or word of his."

My father naturally took a keen interest in the India Bill, having acquired much knowledge of affairs, as conducted in India, when Secretary of the Board of Control. The Proclamation was precisely analogous in principle to the views which Sir Richard Temple, in his book on India, wrote that my father held when subsequently a member of the Supreme Council in India.

Notwithstanding Lord Palmerston's triumph in carrying his India Bill, the defeat of his Government was imminent.

About a month before the Bill for the better government of India was introduced, an event occurred which very nigh brought us into a war with France.

On January 14, as the Emperor and Empress were driving to the opera in Paris, an attempt was made to assassinate the Emperor ; the Imperial carriage escaped, the three bombs which were thrown struck the one that followed; and some of the occupants were killed. It was discovered that an elaborate plot had been concocted, the leading conspirator being Felice Orsini, its aim being to punish Louis Napoleon for having betrayed the Italian Cause of Liberty. Orsini belonged to the body of Carbonari, a secret Society of which Louis Napoleon had in his youth also been a member. The assassins took refuge in England, and it was discovered that the bombs used had been made in our factories. Only one Englishman, and he of no account, had any knowledge of the purpose for which they were destined. But a madly vehement cry against *la perfide Albion* arose in France, and the indignation of the Army against us knew no bounds. Lord Palmerston refused to give up the assassins, and consequently what is known as the "Manifesto of the Colonels" was published in the *Moniteur*, the acknowledged mouthpiece of the Emperor.

Several French colonels addressed the Emperor personally, urging him to "root out that nest of assassins." One regiment begged it might be sent "to get at these men even in the recesses of their dens." Another declared that "the infamous haunt in which such machinations were hatched should be destroyed for ever."

These fiery officers referred obviously to London, and it was taken in London as a threat of invasion. The Emperor himself was in a doleful dilemma—finding himself truly between "the devil and the deep blue sea." Physically a coward, he was haunted by an unnerving skeleton in his cupboard ; other members of the Carbonari might be lurking in secret places in Paris—spectres of his old associates rose as unpleasant visitors, and those about him said he was a changed man.

The Emperor trusted no one and no one trusted the Emperor. He had no confidential friends, he confided in no one, and no one confided in him, and gossip of every description emanated from those actually around the Court.

From Madame Mohl, her *bête noire* being Louis Napoleon, we had letters giving many details as to the state of affairs in Paris, and the miserable position in which the Emperor found himself.

His difficulties were complicated by the fact that the Empress Eugénie was a devout Catholic, and on all occasions upheld the interests of the Pope.

My father went over to Paris to gather information first hand.

Diary E. March 13 : " Julia got letters from Mme. Mohl, politics."

April 2 : " Papa left Paris."

3rd : " Returned home from Paris. French politics at dinner. Emperor alarmed. Sympathy for Orsini."

In June Mme. Mohl arrived in London, and during her visits to Belgrave Street expatiated further on the abnormal state of affairs in Paris.

Meanwhile the English Press had not been slow in answering the attacks of the French colonels, declaring that no foreign despot should deprive political offenders of an asylum in our free country. The Emperor, through Walewski, forwarded to the French Ambassador in London, Persini, what was meant to be a kind of apology for the articles which had appeared, explaining as an excuse that, though published in the *Moniteur*, he had not read them all.

On January 20, however, Walewski, in a direct communication to Lord Clarendon, complained that England condoned murder and sanctioned it by Law. The tone of this despatch was so dictatorial that it was thought Palmerston, of all people, would have openly resented it—but he did not. Many considered that the only right answer to it would have been to give to the French Ambassador his passports. Palmerston never explained, nor indeed did Clarendon, why no formal

answer was sent to this offensive document, and this mistake led to the defeat of the Palmerston Government.

The action which Palmerston did take was to introduce a Bill to amend the laws of conspiracy, making conspiracy to murder a crime punishable by a special penalty. Hitherto it had been treated like any other sedition, and punishable only by two years' imprisonment. The Bill made it a felony entailing penal servitude for life. This Bill only increased the public indignation against the animus of the French attacks. In the House, Mr. Kinglake, the historian, declared that as Ministers had not answered Walewski's note, the House of Commons should do so. Lord John Russell spoke with exceptional vigour against the Bill, and with Sir James Graham and Bright concocted an amendment, which was moved by Mr. Milner Gibson. It was, though somewhat artfully disguised, virtually a censure on the Government, without being one on the Bill. It requested the House to express regret that no reply had been sent to Walewski's despatch. After a heated debate the amendment was carried by a majority of nineteen. Twice in one year had Palmerston's Government been defeated.

Sir G. C. Lewis writes to my father :

“ DOWNING STREET,
“ Feb. 20, 1858.

“ MY DEAR WILSON,

“ The Cabinet decided unanimously and without hesitation to tender their resignations without delay to the Queen. Lord Palmerston lost no time in performing his surprise, and he returned a short time ago from the Palace with an account of his interview. The Queen was reluctant to accept the resignations, but yielded to his representations of the inability of the Government to remain in office with advantage to her service or with credit to their own characters.

“ She gave no advice as to the person to whom she should send—but merely stated the relative positions of parties.

"My impression is that she will send to Ld. Derby, as being the recognised leader of opposition.

"The minute conferring your pension was signed by Lord P. and myself before he went to the Palace.

"I take for granted that all the business will be postponed on Monday, except the Indian loan bill, which ought, I think, to proceed.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"G. C. LEWIS."

An aristocratic languor seems to have infected the Cabinet. Greville writes :

"They all seemed conscious of the diminution of Palmerston's energy and power. He is always asleep, both in the Cabinet and in the House of Commons, where he endeavours to conceal it by wearing his hat over his eyes. Clarendon made me laugh heartily the other day at his account of the Cabinet, where one half of them seemed to be almost asleep—the first to be off being Lansdowne, closely followed by Palmerston and Charles Wood. I remember his giving me a very droll account of Melbourne's Cabinet, and of the drowsiness which seemed to reign there, more particularly with Melbourne himself."

On February 26, 1858, Greville writes :

"I met George Lewis yesterday and talked over with him the whole affair. He thinks that it has been fearfully mismanaged, and that the catastrophe might have been avoided in many different ways : first, by answering the despatch ; secondly, by doing what I have suggested, producing no papers and asking for confidence ; then by the Speaker's declining to allow the amendment being put, as he well might have done, and as a *strong* Speaker would have done. Lord Eversley advised him to do this, and gave his strong opinion that the amendment was inadmissible. It is curious that Palmerston's overthrow should be the work of a Parliament elected expressly to support him, and immediately caused by the act of a Speaker whom he insisted upon putting in the chair

contrary to the advice of many others who thought he would prove inefficient. I told Lewis I thought their resignation was not called for, and not what I would have advised the Queen. He said the whole question was well, calmly and dispassionately considered, and they were unanimous as to the necessity of resignation. . . . The Queen had begged Palmerston not to resign upon this vote and that he had returned to the Cabinet and reported what she said, but they were all, without exception, for adhering to their resignation. Lewis gave me such strong reasons for their resignation that I confess they materially shook my opinion. He said there was no possibility of mistaking the feeling there was against Palmerston, which if I had been present and seen what had passed in the House that night, I could not have doubted."

"HOTEL DE DOUVRES,
"RUE DE LA PAIX,
"PARIS,
"March 28th/58.

"MY DEAR LEWIS,

"I remained on Friday night before I came off by the mail train to hear Disraeli's extraordinary proposition. As yet I have heard no opinion nor seen any paper about it, but of all the objectionable schemes I ever heard this is the most so. The idea of finding an executive for India among the Freemen of Liverpool and other towns could have entered into the heads of no other men. Talk after this of the danger of ignorant cries at home jeopardising India! I think what a majority influenced by McNeil would say to Hindoo prejudices and practices. But again whoever heard of an Executive being elected by a popular constituency of this kind? The most important and dangerous inference, however, which could be drawn from such a system, would be that the English public would be responsible for the Government and for the *Debts* contracted by the Govt. for India. Again he proposes a President and Vice-President. Would anyone who knows the Board of Trade propose this? It must either lead to divided authority or to a

useless officer, as the Vice-President of the Board of Trade Departmentally is. I expect to see all parties in a state of astonishment at the folly of the plan, and it appears enough to destroy any little confidence which might be felt in the Government. I hope you will consider whether it is not possible to run Lord Palmerston's Bill against Disraeli's and, as they do with reports in committee, consider which should be read a second time, to be read paragraph by paragraph in committee. Things here are in a most unsettled and unsatisfactory state. An immense number of workmen out of employment and great uneasiness and anxiety everywhere. They are cutting up Paris into new Boulevards for strategical purposes ; but the workmen who are displaced are all congregating outside Paris, where they will be more dangerous than they were when mixed with the general population inside ; especially when acting upon the railways and Telegraph if disturbances arise. There is no doubt that popular discontent extensively exists and that more has been lost since the 15th Feb^y than could well have been imagined. The appointment of Pellissier to London is regarded as another proof of the determination to make the whole Government military. Some say that he is sent away because he made himself disagreeable at court owing to his coarse and brisk manner, a high qualification for a diplomat.

"I have seen very few people yet of importance but I shall see most of them to day and to morrow. Of course there are many views, according to the interests and wishes of the party. But one very honest and able politician who breakfasted with me to day, assures me, that he never knew a time when a real desire for constitutional government was making more progress in France than at present. Then *every class* begins to feel itself *oppressed* and wants a field and opportunity for greater action, while every step is more and more repressive. I am curious to hear of the India Bill.

"Yours truly,

"JAMES WILSON."

" KENT HOUSE,

" March 30, 1858.

" MY DEAR WILSON,

" Many thanks for your letter. The new India Bill is, as you say, a most marvellous performance, and it seems to be generally judged here as you judge it. I was afraid that the claptrap might have been more successful than it has proved, though I never formed so high an estimate of the gullibility of the public as Dizzy seems to have done. It is creditable to the good sense and honesty of the country that so profligate and reckless a bid for popular favour should have been unsuccessful. The *Times*, which has its feelers out in many directions, has clearly made up its mind that the Bill is doomed, and in its article of to-day, it has served the Government with a regular notice to quit. My notion is that the exposure of this Bill will be so complete, and the feeling against it so strong, before the day appointed for the second reading that they will not face a division, but will withdraw their Bill, and bring in an amended one. I do not think they will go out upon it. This retreat under fire is however a perilous movement for a Government to execute, and although they may effect their retreat, it will not be without serious loss. If this Bill is to be taken as a sample of their measures, their Budget will be an edifying composition, and still more their Reform Bill. I hear that the Committee of Cabinet who concocted the Bill was composed of Ellenborough, Derby, Dizzy and Walpole. That the 3 first of these should have concocted so absurd and unprincipled a measure, and that the fourth should have assented to anything, I can quite understand, but how they could have obtained the consent of the rest of the Cabinet—of such men as Henley, Pakington, Lord Stanley and Thesiger—surpasses my comprehension. Altho' the rest of the Cabinet were (with the exception of Stanley) no great conjurors, they were at least men of plain common sense. Our present inclination is to support a motion for reading the Bill six months hence, but nothing is decided as to the course. I see a

certain hankering after an *elective* council, even in men of sense. I am satisfied it is a complete mistake, and that further discussion will show that all principles of representation—except a representation which is impossible—are inapplicable to the case. Spearman has sent me a printed copy of the Report of the Actuaries, which is to the effect which we always anticipated, *viz.* that the deductions under the old system were not equivalent to the pensions, so the House will now see that they were misled by Naas.¹

It appears to me that they have been blundering their Indian loan. Having a power of issuing bonds or debentures, as they wanted the money, what was the use of announcing a loan of £5,000,000 to be paid by instalments in 6 months? This was narrowing the field of offer and raising the market against themselves. They seem to have imitated the practice in effecting a loan in consols, without seeing that in this case the Government resorts to an inconvenient course in order to avoid the necessity of coming again to Parliament. I suspect that it has been arranged by the Directors, without control on the part of Government. Dizzy either knew nothing about it, or was thinking of his four constituencies to elect Indian executive officers.

“I am going into the country on Thursday, and shall stay over Easter week, but shall be in town early in the following week. There are to be Navy Estimates on the first Monday.

“Yrs very sincerely,
“G. C. LEWIS.”

“HARPTON,
“April 11, 1858.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“I can hardly think that Dizzy will revive his Income tax plan. Gladstone, who wishes to support this Govt., and who was present at their Mansion House dinner, is thoroughly committed against it, and could

¹ Lord Naas was Irish Secretary.

not in decency avoid opposing it. He has made one bid already for the large towns, and he will scarcely make another within so short a time. However, I admit that it is very difficult to reason on grounds of prudence or propriety as to what Dizzy will or will not do. If a rate to favour the mercantile classes at the expense of the land were proposed by the Country party, it would be very difficult for the Liberals to oppose it directly. Our best chance would be to involve him in difficulties and inconsistencies as to the details.

With respect to the war sinking fund, it is difficult for us to insist on its running concurrently with the payment of the Exchequer Bonds. If he pays off the Bonds, we ought, I think, considering the large amount of the estimates, to be satisfied. My expectation is that he will postpone the Sinking Fund, and propose a loan for discharging the Bonds. His difficulty will be with the million and a half required for the current expenditure. Perhaps he will take this out of the balances. I collect from Derby's speech at the Mansion House, that they are prepared to modify their India Bill in any way which will meet the taste of the House, and as it is universally condemned, they ought to withdraw it, and bring in a new Bill. Lord John intends to give some notice on Monday, but I have no idea that the Govt. will ever face a division on the second reading. I direct to you in town.

“Yrs very sincerely,
“G. C. LEWIS.”

Meanwhile the following correspondence had taken place between my father and Sir G. C. Lewis:

“52, ALBANY STREET,
“EDINBURGH.
“1st. Jan./58.

“MY DEAR LEWIS,

“I send you Sir John McNeil's address which will repay you for the use of a quarter of an hour to read it. With regard to his remarks upon the Civil Service

Examinations, it strikes me that though his arguments for which he brings them in illustration as applied to colleges and universities is perfectly true, the analogy is not very complete. No one who has thought upon the subject can I think doubt that if universities were to give degrees to anyone who merely came up to a certain standard in an examination, wherever they came from or in whatever way their education had been conducted it would lead to an immense number of degrees being granted upon a very superficial knowledge and would tend to degrade the standard of real and substantial learning. But the same arguments are not at all applicable to the Civil Service Examinations. In the first place, in the case of universities, the cramming system would be a substitute for a real and substantial course of tuition in an accredited form, while in the Civil Service the cramming system, if it is put no higher, it is a substitute for no test whatever but the mere chance of Parliamentary patronage. And with regard to *nine-tenths* of appointments, those in the Customs and Excise, the cramming system gives in a partial way what would not be had at all. And I am sure that the great number of rejections in consequence of inadequate knowledge is acting as a stimulant to the lower classes in Parliamentary Boroughs to educate better. Limited as the system at present is to a competitive examination among a small number nominated, and with a minimum standard of qualification, I believe it is working well both directly upon the service and indirectly upon the public. But if it were pushed further, evils of a new kind would be introduced which I should be alarmed at. An open competition among all comers, such as Gladstone and Trevelyan wanted, I believe would be productive of an enormous amount of mischief and disappointment. You will in common with myself approve of McNeil's repudiation of a Govt. grant to the Professors, which is becoming a source of agitation here.

"You are quite right, and I endeavoured to express myself so in my last letter, that it is not Loyd's *theory* as to

the effect of prices on the exchanges that is wrong but his application of it. As they say with regard to the law, it is not so much in the uncertainty of the law itself that makes the results of an action doubtful, as the uncertainty of the facts. So in all these cases it is not so much the accuracy of an abstract principle, as the accuracy of its application that makes it true in practice and sound to legislate upon. In truth it is the fact that the Loyd School have strung together a number of principles which in themselves cannot be doubted, and that has recommended the theory to so many who have a knowledge less or more of political economy ; the reasoning to a certain extent is true enough, but they start with assumptions in themselves false and groundless. And that was the reason why in my book at page 47 and forward, I laboured to show that the *fine* assumptions on which the theory rested were not sound.

“ With respect to a limit by law upon the circulation there is something in what you say when a panic *has arisen* : There is something to give away. But then is that not looking at it in the light of a very imperfect palliation for an evil which *it has itself* mainly created ? But is there not another view of the case ? Can there be anything more serious and, in the long run, more destructive of a sound abhorrence of a bad and depreciated state of currency, than to be always suspending and breaking a law which Parliament is supposed to think necessary for its maintenance ? What so soon will reconcile the public in case of pressure to demand a suspension of the Act of 1819, as a familiarity with the suspension of the Act of 1844 ? Now you cannot refuse to suspend the Act of 1844 because in point of fact nothing substantial is involved in it. The convertibility of the note is maintained as well after as before ; the Bank has still a large Bullion reserve to rely upon, and no man in his senses could incur the responsibility of persisting in maintaining an Act so much matter of form and so little matter of substance, at the cost of such consequences. But the great fundamental mischief of the limit is that it

takes much of the responsibility of the management of the Bank, and the maintenance of a proper reserve, off the Directors and places them too much upon the law. What a sight did we witness at *our Banks* on the 12th day of Nov. The Directors of the Bank had run down their reserve to half a million for sixteen Banks, with deposits extending to £19,000,000, and having done that under the law, they would not admit that they wished the law to be suspended ! At the same time they knew that they must have suspended payment or break the law themselves. But for the Act which partially took away their responsibility *and the odium* of whatever might happen, can it be believed that they would not have taken active measures at an earlier period by the sale of securities and means to obtain Bullion and strengthen their position ? Look at the Bank of France, they have no artificial or capricious limit ; and none but the limit of convertibility. And I believe that convertibility is safer in the long run with the Bank of France without any capricious limit to relax, than it is with the Bank of England, when it would not be difficult to confound a suspension of the Act of 1819 with a suspension of the Act of 1844. But look at the difference which the two positions led to in the management of the respective Banks. As the Bullion in the Bank of France fell, at an early period and for a long time, the Directors exerted themselves at a great cost to obtain Bullion and succeeded. But the extra cost of doing so was only using a part of the extra profit made by the high rate of interest at the time. The Directors of the Bank of England on the other hand contented themselves with raising the rate of discount to check the foreign drain, but took no direct or active steps to strengthen themselves, and made no sacrifice to obtain gold. All through there is more care exhibited by the Directors of the Bank of France, and more caution in providing for contingencies. I believe if the Bank Directors were left simply responsible to maintain cash payments and their general liabilities we should have the best security for a prudent and careful management of the Bank. Of

one thing upon reflection and after recent experience I am clear : That if any legislative authority is to be given for suspending the Act, it ought to be made to depend upon the requisition of the Directors ; they alone are responsible for the management of the Bank and as such should feel that no relief can be afforded without their request. If that had been the state of the law in Nov^r, the Court would certainly have applied.

“ The recovery of the Bank and of the Banks in the Un. States, and in Hamburg and Paris, has been wonderfully rapid. Trade too is beginning to follow. The accounts from Liverpool and Manchester are better. The exports to the U.S. which had been almost suspended for two months are again increasing to meet urgent orders. The affairs of the Austrian Bank are very bad. The City of Glasgow turns out well : The capital is all but complete and they are again going on. Trade however is much paralysed and the extensive losses of deposit was, or at least the temporary lock up is, much felt. The ruin among the shareholders is extensive ; so many persons of limited means having had their whole in it, tempted by a 9 *per cent* dividend, and a lower proportionate price of stock. The effect of the monopoly given to the Scotch Banks by the Act of 1845 turns out to have been very prejudicial and is strikingly illustrated in the course taken by the Western, about which I am collecting some valuable particulars.

“ With regard to one pound notes the only advantage they offer is the economy of capital which they would effect. There is no reason in favour of five pound notes that does not exist in favour of one pound notes and *vice versa*. But economy is not a thing to be forced upon a nation and if there is a prejudice against them in England I would never think of thrusting them upon this country. They have no charm beyond a question of economy. The only circumstances under which they could be resorted to would be in the event of our requiring security for *all* paper issues. In that case no objection would I think be shown towards them. As to forgery I am told by a

large Banker here that he has not heard of a case of a forged note for more than twenty years. I do not understand Lord Grey's notion of abolishing one pound notes in Scotland and issuing them in England ; for if there is one thing more than another to be considered in respect to monetary arrangements, apart from security, it is the protests and prejudices of a people. There is so much of idea, of protest, and even of prejudice that enters into the public sentiment of confidence on anything that appertains to money and especially to its symbols, that a course that is desirable in one place is not in another. A Somersetshire farmer is never satisfied as long as he has a Bank of England Note in his pocket, or until he has changed it for one of Stuckey & Co. ; which he holds with confidence till the day of his death if he does not want to use it. But I fancy Lord Grey is sometimes fond of a paradox.

" I have heard but little here about the E. I. Co.: Which little I have has been a faint objection to its abolition : The only thing at which every one of our friends holds up his hands in surprise and with shaking heads of disappointment is Lord Clanricarde's appointment. Lord Murray I hear accounts for it upon the principle that in some place or on some occasion when everything was good and unobjectionable it was thought to be necessary to turn out a little Devil upon the scene in order to create a diversion.

" I have received your notes about the scheme of an American commission. I will write to-morrow as the post is going.

" Yours truly,
" JAMES WILSON."

" 52, ALBANY STREET,
" EDINBURGH.
" *Jany.* 4/58.

" MY DEAR LEWIS,

" It would be a matter of great utility if we could collect current information in the U.S. as well as at home in connexion with the causes of the late crisis,

The great evil of the practice of hitherto ascribing all these derangements to 'excessive issues of Bank notes,' though no excess ever existed, was that it withdrew attention from the real causes; the consequence was that the public learned nothing from their experience, but were satisfied with blaming Banks in place of themselves.

"If the Lands Committee is well conducted something will come out then and something incidentally in ours. But the American part of the enquiry is the most important because the great root of the evil lay there. If Lord Napier could find a good man he could no doubt get us a great deal of valuable information. The difficulty would be to find the right man.

"With a view to obtaining such information I have already engaged Mr. Butler Duncan, of the firm of Duncan Sherman & Co., the largest private Bankers in New York and chief correspondents of Napier Peabody & Co., to send in all the published returns in connexion with all the Banks of all the States and all papers in connexion with Railways, Public Works, Land Schemes, etc., that can be procured. Mr. Duncan, the younger, is the most intelligent American I have met with upon these subjects and has great experience. He is a friend of Lord Napier and might assist him to find a good man for the work. If this course should be decided upon it would be necessary to have the instructions prepared with great care in order that the true points of information should be elicited; and that would be best done by calling for information on special heads.

"The accounts from Liverpool and Manchester continue to improve. The quantity of Gold arriving in London is enormous; and there seems every probability that the Bullion will rise to a higher point in a few weeks than we have seen it since the beginning of the war. Upon the whole all goes to prove that the great bulk of our trade has been sound.

"Yours truly,
"JAMES WILSON."

"HARPTON,

"8th January, 1858.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"The prospects of the Estimates are such as to make some additional revenue a matter of necessity. The rebound of the money market has been so rapid, that I cannot help hoping the Customs and Excise will fall off less than was anticipated. Do you think it would be possible to obtain anything additional from sugar? Tea seems to me to be already taxed as high as it can well bear.

"It cannot, I think, be said with truth that the Bank Act caused, or even materially aggravated, the late crisis. It accentuated the movement at a particular moment, but all the main incidents were independent of it. If it is admitted that commercial crises are from time to time inevitable, can it be laid down that the Government is never to interfere at such periods, and to bring national in support of individual credit? If it is to interfere at all, I don't know that a more innocuous or easier mode of interference can be found than temporarily relaxing an arbitrary limit. In Hamburg and the Northern Capitals the Government has recently interfered to assist trade by loans and various contrivances, which in those little states have involved larger advances than the real excess of the Bank under the recent letter. Overstone's and the *Times* arguments imply that the recent letter was wrong, because the Government did not leave the crisis to its natural course—and because it interfered to prevent tottering houses from falling. This is an argument not merely against the relaxation of the limit fixed by the Act of '44, but against every conceivable form of Government assistance at a moment of panic.

"When you return to town, pray read over Tooke's comments on the crisis of 1847 in his 4th volume, and on Peel's views of his own measure. He lays it down in p. 271 that no two instances of panic are exactly alike, but that there is one circumstance which is highly favourable, if not essential, viz. : a low rate of interest of

some continuance. Now in this last case, this feature was altogether wanting. The rate of interest had been for some time high. So difficult is it to generalise on these questions.

"It seems to me that through Lord Napier we might obtain a Report on the American crisis, which, though not first rate, might be extremely instructive. The different parts of the commercial world are now so closely connected that we have a very real interest in the misdoings of our neighbours.

"India bonds are at par, after all the howl raised by the Court at their disgraceful state of discount, and Exchequer Bills are at a premium. I still think, however, that it will be desirable to fund 2 or 3 millions before the March Exchange.

"Ever yours sincerely,
"G. C. LEWIS."

"52 ALBANY STREET,
"EDINBURGH,
"Jan. 17/58.

"MY DEAR LEWIS,

"I am still a prisoner here ; for I have got the additional affliction of a cold which keeps me to the house to-day, but that will soon be gone. My foot is mending fast of the hidden injury it had sustained and which led to so tedious a job. I shall finish with my doctor on Tuesday, and intend to go up on Wednesday. There are several points on which I have not written as I expected to see you yesterday.

"The improvement in the Money Market has been even more rapid than I ventured to anticipate. It shows how sound upon the whole the country is, and how quickly under free and unrestrained trade, when every man is doing the best he can for himself with his own means and appliances, everything rights itself.

"I think the Scotch Banks have lost a good deal of their deposits by silent withdrawal and transfer to the public funds. It is a most important thing, however, to a country like this that we should have some well organised

and well conducted means of economising the unemployed capital and utilising it. It is a problem of infinitely greater importance than paper issues which have taken so undue a share of attention. The City of Glasgow Bank seems to be getting on well. I am told by the Bankers that so much is this the case that the exchange, *i.e.*, the weekly clearing between themselves, has been in favour of it to a considerable amount at each time since they re-commenced.

"Yours truly,

"JAMES WILSON."

"DOWNING ST.,

"Jan. 19, 1858.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"Your memorandum upon the lines from Malta to Alexandria seems to me to meet all the points of the case, and I think it may be put at once in the form of a letter and sent to the Foreign Office.

"The attempt on L. N's life (11 Jan. 1858) has made a prodigious sensation at Paris, and there are great complaints of our harbouring assassins. I think we might induce Parlt. to give Govt. the power of sending away any foreigner known to entertain designs dangerous to the life of a continental sovereign; but if the power existed it would probably be nugatory—as men who intend to commit assassination do not divulge their intentions. Usurpers have been exposed to the danger of assassination from all time, and nothing can really protect them.

"The present high price of Exchequer bills puts an end to all possibility of funding them till after the March Exchange.

"I have read several articles on the money crisis in reviews—all bad, except one in the *National Review*.¹ The article in the *Edinburgh* is nothing but a eulogy of Overstone, holding him up as the discoverer of a new principle of currency, without telling us what the principle

¹ Walter Bagehot.

is, and ending with an appeal to Ld. P. to introduce some grand scheme of currency reform, without telling us what is the evil to be remedied, or the remedy to be applied.

“ The article in the *Edinburgh* on the Addington and Pitt ministries is by me.

“ The intention is to introduce the India Bill early in the Session. I am in hopes that the Budget may be postponed till after Easter.

“ Ever yours sincerely,
“ G. C. LEWIS.”

CHAPTER XXII

CONSERVATIVE REFORM BILL—SUGGESTED REFORM BILLS BY BRIGHT AND COBDEN

SIR GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS wrote from Harpton on October 11, 1858 :

“ MY DEAR WILSON,

“ The chief event which has happened since we parted is, I think, the distinct announcement of a Derbyite Reform Bill, which J. Manners considers it a singular circumstance that it should be the *destiny* of his party to propose. This doctrine of *dishing* might be convenient to many persons who do things as little defensible or intelligible as a Tory Reform Bill. However, one must not consider Toryism, as a living system, such as it was in the days of Perceval and Sidmouth and Castlereagh, to be extinct, and to have passed into the fossil stage. The Derbyites are Tories only in name, but they obtain the support of a large compact party by hoisting the flag and wearing the cockade—though they violate every article of the creed which they profess. They will necessarily have much difficulty with their Reform Bill, though I rather expect they will, from the disunion of their opponents, and the lukewarmness of the country, scramble through it. If they act upon Dizzy's theory of the old Reform Bill being a *Whig job*, and propose a real Tory Reform Bill, *i.e.* a Bill intended to reverse the policy of the first Bill : to take the democracy out of it, and to make it a Landowners' Bill, then they will infallibly fail. But if by a Tory Reform Bill, is meant a Bill such as the Liberal party in power would propose, and if it is only called a Tory Bill because it is proposed by Derbyites in power—then the Bill may pass, but it can hardly fail to

disgust their own party in the Commons and a large part of the House of Lords, and to sow the seeds of dissensions such as were twice fatal to Peel. It will not be like the India Bill, merely a passing difficulty, which when overcome, leaves no sting behind. It must produce permanent effects on the constitution of their party. Ld. John has passed three days here on his way to Liverpool. He is in excellent health and spirits. His view is that we, as an opposition, have nothing to do but to wait in patience for the Govt. proposition on Reform—a doctrine which seems to me quite sound. The last quarterly statement shews that the revenue is doing well, but the low rate of discount, as the *Economist* justly remarks, proves that the demand for capital, for commercial purposes, is still slack. The idea of the E. I. Co. being paid off by the country, and embarking their 12 millions in trade is mere moonshine. The China treaty is a highly satisfactory result of the Bowring quarrel. The present Ministers can hardly claim the credit of the policy in which it originated, but an event of this sort always redounds to the advantage of the subsisting Govt., however little share they may have had in its production. I had written an article for the forthcoming No. of the *Edinburgh* on the administrations from 1806 to 1812, and since I have been in the country I have written a continuation as far as 1822. I intend to carry it down to '30—the period of the Reform Bill, which seems the beginning of Modern History—our present Hegira.

“I heard a few weeks ago from de Toqueville, who said that Greg had been staying with him in Normandy.

“Wheat is low, but apparently will not fall lower. The farmers in this neighbourhood are in good spirits and do not complain.

“Ld. Clarendon is still on the Continent, but will return before long. He has been chiefly drinking Carlsbad water for gout.

“E. yrs. sin.,
“G. C. LEWIS.”

"SHIRE NEWTON HOUSE,
"CHEPSTOW,
"Oct. 15/58.

"MY DEAR LEWIS,

"On my arrival from Paris two days ago at Claverton I received your letter of the 11th. I have been abroad only for a fortnight spending my time chiefly in Paris and paying some country visits in the department. We (Miss Wilson and myself) had arranged to come home through Normandy by Cherbourg and to have visited Guizot and de Toqueville on our way but the weather became bad and we shrank from the long passage. As it was we left Paris at 7.30 A.M. and without fatigue or discomfort got to Claverton at 11.30 P.M. the same day. There were few political people in Paris. We spent some time with the Drouyn de Lhuys at Amblainvilliers. From all I could learn, the domestic policy is much less strict under Dagout than it was under his predecessor. That the Emperor has always a dream about Italy every one admits. Whether it will come to anything or not nobody has formed a strong opinion : But he is restless. I think the opposition to him is less observable and people exhibit a greater reconciliation to things as they are than I have seen before. But all say that there is no principle steadily followed in the Govt. plans ; on the contrary, there is great caprice as you saw about the Com. duties the other day. It is a day to day—a hand to mouth Government ; anything to amuse, divert attention, to please and obtain popularity, and as far as is consistent with other things to produce prosperity. But the great variety of protected interests begin rather to quarrel amongst themselves. The Canal owners as you see complain of the railways. The farmer is exposed to foreign competition though prices are low, while they are under great restrictions in the exportation of their produce, begin to grumble about dear iron, and dear clothing. Lavergne tells me that there is a Free Trade agricultural journal in Paris that has 7,000 subscribers in the country.

"I dined with Villemain and Lavergne at Mme. Mohl's. Villemain has been receiving Gladstone's book on Homer. He was most amusing about it ; but he thought it very creditable for an active politician to busy himself so deeply with such a subject. That was the sum of merit which he saw in the work. Charles Villiers was in Paris as you no doubt know and many English going to and coming from longer journeys. Lady Molesworth and her *Company* passed through to Florence. I spent a day at the country house of M. Tourgenieff and had much entertaining conversation with him upon the Russian serf question and other affairs of Russia. The Emperor has his hands full. His scheme includes the fate of eleven millions of male serfs.

"I read with interest your remarks about Reform. We may wait as Lord John advises and see what they propose (we cannot do anything wiser). But I think it is upon the cards, that they may not be able to agree upon a plan. Indeed I cannot believe that Derby will consent to a measure that Dizzy and Stanley would consider sufficient for *their* purpose. I think Derby's ambition above all things to lead the country party, and not to risk that position, will prevent him embarking in such an undertaking. It is worse for him in the Lords than for his colleagues in the Commons. From what Hayter writes, and from what the *Daily News* says, I understand that any arrangement between Palmerston and Lord John is as distant as ever. So that even if a difficulty arose about the existing Government, with the existing feelings among the Opposition, I still see but little hope of a permanent Govt. being formed.

"I hear through the channel of the Rothschilds that Dizzy had been sadly in the dumps lately ; that something has gone sadly wrong with him. Canning's answer is admirable ; but I hear that another despatch has gone out to him, which one of the Council says he thinks must lead to his resignation : And I hear that Dizzy's appointment has been actually named at the Council board. How that would suit India I will not

say, but it would remove a great obstacle to a settled Govt. at home.

"The Reserve is very good, but you will see that the Excise instead of the increase from the Irish Spirit duty of more than £200,000, in the six months, shows a very large decrease. You remember I doubted if he would get the increase he expected. The Customs increase is almost entirely from sugar owing to the low price and the large fruit season. A Mincing Lane broker that I met the other day at a Railway Station, told me that the large fruit season could not be reckoned at less than an extra consumption of 30,000 tons, which would alone give an additional revenue of £420,000. But I look for a great trade and much prosperity next year. I look forward to the *Edinr.* with great interest to continue the history of the Administration of the early part of the century. When you have got down to 1830 you should print all the articles separately, with others which I think you wrote upon particular Ministers.

"We go back from here on Monday to Claverton and the next week, about the 26th, I go with Perry to give an account to our constituents. If it comes up, would there be any harm in hinting pretty broadly that Derby had approved of the Conspiracy Bill? It has never been done, and his bad faith is not suspected.

"My dear Lewis,

"Yours truly,

"JAMES WILSON.

"P.S. I never remember a time when politics seemed so hopelessly confused and uncertain as at this moment, or so little attractive. There are so many false issues before the country, so much that men say and must do, that they do not feel or much approve of, and so little of clear object to struggle for. Magisterial duties, petty sessions and especially Quart. session duties, really seem to rise by comparison into something like importance. I take refuge in them. There is a great deal of talk at Liverpool, but I own I see little to come out of it.

The Times is the most indebted party, having apparently great difficulty to fill their columns. This must be so when they resort to marriage breakfast speeches at Camperdown.

“J. W.”

“HARPTON,
“Nov. 16, 1858.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“Since I had the pleasure of receiving your letter, you have paid your visit to your constituents, and have been able to ascertain how far opinion in favour of Reform is fermenting, if it be fermenting, in large towns. Bright’s speech was a fair and intelligible bid to the large towns. He sketched out to them his measure and offered his services. With the exception of a meeting in London attended by Roebuck and a few members, I have seen nothing in the nature of a response to this appeal. If Manchester or Liverpool or Glasgow wishes for 6 or 8 members, and thinks it can get them, why does it not hold a public meeting, and form a political Union as at the time of the Reform Bill? This looks as if Bright had not succeeded in striking on the right chord. In his second speech, he certainly did not find his way to the hearts of the people. It is clear to me that what is generally popular is a *spirited* foreign policy. It is the calmer and more reflecting and educated people who share Bright’s pacific views, and who think of the evils of a war before they engage in it. Almost all our wars have been popular at the outset. Especially is this true of the American war.

Gladstone’s mission, like most of his proceedings, is an enigma to me. The Govt. think they have *bird-limed* him, but I understand that he does not consider himself under any obligation to them. At the same time, I have little doubt that he regarded it as a step which might, if he chose, be the means of drawing him closer to them. If the publication of Young’s despatch to Bulwer’s act, this again is unintelligible. Why send a man to enquire into grievances, with a view of finding

a remedy, and then cross his path with an authoritative plan for putting an end to both grievances and remedy by ceding the islands to another power? The mission of Gladstone has given an importance to the Ionian Isles which otherwise they would not have possessed, and drags them out of their natural political obscurity.

"This Compiègne journey is an unlucky business. Much will be made of it by the Govt., and much believed by the public.

"Yrs. very sincerely,
"G. C. LEWIS."

Private.

"CLAVERTON MANOR,
"Nov. 21/58.

"MY DEAR LEWIS,

"I have received your note of the 16th. Neither in my boro' nor anywhere else have I been able to discover the slightest genuine passion for Reform. I found just the same two or three persons at our meetings who have always been ready to make a speech after the others, to gratify themselves and to make the meeting laugh; but I was unable to discover the slightest earnestness on the subject. The truth is that Reform is now a political game, not a public demand. But there are too many persons interested in it, as well as anomalies to be corrected, to allow it to be passed over. Besides the Birmingham and London meetings there was a violent meeting at Manchester, at which Mr. Heywood, a large bookseller, but always a Radical, presided, and at which Mr. Potter, a large manufacturer, spoke: It was attended by Bayley the new member and his friends. At that meeting the least that was entertained was a *rating suffrage*, which under a recent Act must be regarded as Household Suffrage. This was the most violent meeting that I have yet seen attended by middle class men who represented the League. But the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, to whom I wrote for an explanation, says that that must be regarded rather in the light of an electioneering meeting of Bayley's friends to keep the

working men in good humour than as anything else. At the same time he says that few Reformers at Manchester would object to go as far as a rating suffrage. The only practical result that I see from Bright's movement is that it will enable the Govt. to carry their Bill. The extravagant proposals made by the Radical party, will have the effect in the meantime of reconciling the Conservative party to a measure which will be at least as Liberal as the Bill of 1852 or 1854, and in some respects more so : And when they see the kind of proposals made by Bright they will thank their stars that the Tories are in power to carry a moderate measure. They will have the support of a great body of the Liberals, at least quite as many as will be necessary to secure them against defeat by the Radicals, and in any Tory amendment they will have the support of Radicals and Liberals. Bright's movement has made their task an easy one which before was very difficult. A five pound franchise which is lower than Lord John has ever proposed, with Savings Banks, Payment of direct Taxes and all *etceteras* of the Bill of 1854 thrown in, will make a dish as savoury as will suit the taste of a great Majority of the House, while it will be moderate compared with the plans to which the public will be familiarised in the interim. Their difficulty will be about the small boroughs. If they disfranchise, they will have the double difficulty of the opposition of those interested, which, if their plan is accepted by their party as a whole, will not be great, and of the redistribution of the seats. They will try to give them to the Counties : In that I believe they will fail. For though both the Bill of 1852 and 1854 proposed to give many new seats to the Counties, *such a scheme will not go down now*. To meet these difficulties they will probably leave the single seated boroughs (and if they are wise club them) and get a few seats from the smallest double seats to give a few large Towns—Birkenhead, Blackburn, etc. and a third *member* to Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow, etc. In the counties they will propose a £20 franchise, be beaten

in committee upon it for £10 : Replace £20 in the Lords and trust to our House accepting it in order to get the Bill. In short it will be like the India Bill and Jew Bill, a series of compromises, and amendments upon a scheme which as a whole will be too liberal to provoke a vote of rejection on the second reading : And in committee when it comes to be considered in detail, you know how easy it is to play off one section against another and how rare it is to get a Majority against a Govt. They will shuffle through a Reform Bill without any serious damage : Indeed it has long been obvious that whatever Govt. had to introduce it, would as they will, have to rely upon the great body of the Liberals and Conservatives against the Radicals, and on the great majority of the House including Radicals against ultra Tories. Nor will there be much chance of the supporters of the Govt. withdrawing their support on account of such a measure : In the first place they remember with bitterness the split from Sir Robert Peel and in the next place they care little for Reform or any question of theory, compared with a substantial breeches pocket question of Free Trade as they regarded it. Some of them may make violent speeches to old Tory Squires and Parsons, but it will end with that.

“Again what will help the Govt. very much is a general wish not to disturb them. I have been much surprised at the extent to which this sentiment prevails, even in quarters where one least expected it : I have every day fresh proofs of it. People seem to find a relief in the belief that the Govt. *can be* carried on by others than those with whose names it has been so long associated : And the observations about Whig arrogance, Whig exclusiveness, Whig jobbery and so on, even among professing Liberals at such places as the Reform Club, seem to increase just in proportion as people are satisfied by experience that they are not an absolute necessity to carry on Govt. Affairs in France tend much to keep this feeling alive and to increase it. This tremendous blunder of prosecuting Montalembert recalls

all the feelings of last spring : And the publication of his article which is read at every fireside, gives a most favourable impression in favour of Lord Derby and against Lord Palmerston and the late Govt.—both equally exaggerated and unjust, but said in a way and at a time that tells. But the most fatal of all things is this—what shall I call it—visit to Compiègne. It is utterly incredible, except under one supposition, that the two noble lords have relinquished all idea of public life again. People speak and write in complete bewilderment about it : In the face of the Portuguese and the Montalembert affairs, for the two leaders of the opposition to repeat a visit a second time within two months, and a visit of a kind from which the Emperor excludes those not politically in favour—was there ever such a Godsend to a weak Govt.? I heard the other day a man of high position in a Railway carriage propose to another as a good cartoon for *Punch*, the Two Noble Lords in the Compiègne Hunting Uniform, which I believe is worn by all : A cocked hat with gold lace, a green velvet coat with gold embroidery, buckskins and high jack boots with a horn slung round the shoulder. It has made a deep and injurious impression ; the *Saturday Review* is especially angry, but in an exaggerated tone. You perhaps know that a Mr. Saunders writes in that paper, who conducts the *Continental Review*, a paper very well done but obviously kept alive for if not by the Orleanist family : And both are therefore very Anti-Bonapartist.

“But I have often repeated to you the deep impression I had of the complete infatuation which has regulated our proceedings towards the Emperor. The impressions which I received as to his character from what I saw in the winter of 1855/6 have only been strengthened by every opportunity which I have had of judging it since. I have often told you that a Sovereign who is not honest to his own Ministers cannot be trusted as an ally. You remember the three abusive articles in the *Univers* last spring just after the affair of the Colonels, and the Emperor’s apology, and the regret expressed privately at the tone of

those articles. I have now the most conclusive proof that Veuillot wrote those articles at the personal request of the Emperor. He will play a game in Europe yet if he lives : With an army the largest in Europe except the Russian and constantly exercised in camp : With a fleet already as large as ours and more *modern* : And what is far more important, more concentrated, having little more than the Channel and the Mediterranean to occupy, while we have 45 Colonies to protect and trade in every sea, he will become insufferably arrogant. The first symptom or experiment was that made in the Tagus the other day. He is feeling his way. He told Lord Malmesbury not long since that the Crimean War had found France napping with regard to a Navy, but it should not happen again. He said, 'I will have fifty steam frigates—you will I suppose have one hundred.' But he knows that our Navy Estimates are to be voted, and that the ways and means must be found amid a popular impatience of taxation. The debt of France up to last December had increased under the Empire (since 1853) by £100,000,000 ; still it was then only £321,000,000—against our own £780,000,000, so that he has an enormous margin against us. And I doubt much whether the 36,000,000 in France are not able to sustain a taxation quite equal if not exceeding this country ; Ireland does not go for much. Montalembert justly remarks that 'Steam and electricity will lend always more force to heavy battalions than to sound reason.' Now I do not believe that he contemplates so wild a thing as an attack on England, though I know from Charganier that when he had the command of Paris, the Emperor (then President) talked of little else than a descent on the coast of England, but that he will use his enormous material power to check England from interfering with him in any other quarter where he may have designs. He is determined to have the first voice in European Councils and he will succeed : Indeed has done so already : And that not a little by the submission of an English Court and the English Govts. His danger is that he may overshoot the mark and, like his

uncle, lose all by hazarding too much. What D'Orsay said of the Coup d'Etat is applicable to everything else, *he might get all he wants and all that is of value to him by unobjectionable means.* Never was man with so clear a field : Never did a man so much create his own dangers. The policy of England now should be to draw into close alliance all the Northern Powers ; and those of Germany. The great difficulty with Austria is the unpopular position which he occupies in Italy and that will just be the point of his first attack if he makes it. He has recently been disappointed in Prussia and we should prevent any closer alliance there.

" When Parliament meets, Roebuck is to bring forward the Portuguese case. What can Palmerston do ? It is essentially his question. I don't know the defence of the Govt. but from its organs I judge it to be weak, as they have always avoided the real issue. As to Parliamentary tactics I am sure it will not do for the late Govt. to take an active part of hostility : That is, to bid eagerly for the support of the party. Such a line would only strengthen the Govt. If they get into disgrace or difficulty it will be by their own acts. A passive policy on the part of the opposition will be the only safe one. This Ionian business is assuming a strange aspect. Something that we do not know will arise out of it. I take it there must have been negotiations with France, Austria and Russia on the subject. The publication of the despatches is most embarrassing.

" I have been led into a letter which both as to length and subjects, I had no intention of boring you with. But at the moment there are so many topics of intense interest, and so much of doubt, of difficulty and of uncertainty ahead, that it is difficult to stop either in writing or speaking. Fortunately for you my time is up, and I am off to town for two or three days.

" Yours always truly,

" JAMES WILSON.

" P.S. I hear from undoubted authority in Paris that the Emperor's letter to his Cousin about the Slave

Trade took none so much by surprise as his own Ministers: And that the chief remark about it was that it would do more good to Lord Derby's Govt. than to anyone else."

"HARPTON,

"Nov. 28, 1858.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I am much obliged to you for having written to me so fully. Your horoscope of internal affairs is, I have little doubt, a just one. This Government, having undertaken to bring in a Reform Bill will, by the pressure of circumstances, and of Disraeli, by their desire to keep their offices and to succeed, and by the effects of Bright's speech, be drawn into the preparation of much such a measure as a Whig Govt. would propose, though probably not going *quite* so far. There will be some disfranchisement of small boroughs, and some enfranchisement of large towns and large counties. There will be some new educational (?) suffrages, some reduction of county and borough suffrage. Enough will probably be done under each head to prevent the Liberal party from saying that the Bill is a delusion, and therefore voting against the second reading. When once it is in Committee, the Govt. will, as you say, play off one section against another, and if they are beaten on any point, they will give way, taking the chance of the H. of Lords coming to the rescue! There will be this difference between a Reform Bill proposed by a Liberal Govt. to a Conservative opposition, and a Reform Bill proposed by a Conservative Govt. to a Liberal opposition. In the former case (as in 1831) every Liberal proposition is a maximum, which the Opposition cut down if they can. In the latter case, it will be a minimum, which is sure of passing, and the only question is whether the opposition will not extend it. It is difficult to conceive that in the present calm state of public opinion, without any distress in the large towns, and without any real feeling that the House of Commons has behaved ill and has failed in representing public opinion, a dangerous Reform Bill

should be proposed and carried by a Govt. professing Conservative principles. Yet the principles of this Govt. are much more professions, that it is difficult to say how far the outbidding principle (which sometimes carries people so far in auctions) may not determine the character of the measure. It seems to me that there has been a great disproportionate increase of the manufacturing and commercial classes since 1831, and that if the balance was fairly struck then, they must be under-represented, as compared with the agricultural classes, now. It is only the larger towns and one or two counties which *regularly* return members of the industrial interest. Nearly all the counties and most of the smaller boroughs return members of the landlord class. When we remember that the House of Lords consists of landowners, this gives a great preponderance to the landed interests, as compared with the monied. The latter can only obtain more weight by increasing the number of members for large towns, and for the manufacturing counties—such as S. Lancashire, W. Riding of York, and Staffordshire. Buckinghamshire and Berkshire, whose joint population amounts to about 300,000, together return 20 members. Lancashire, the population of which is now, I believe, 2,000,000, returns 26 members. If the comparison is fairly made, it will appear that the monied is insufficiently represented as compared with the landed interest. Whether changes intended to redress this inequality will give us a better House of Commons is not certain. They may, however, have the effect of mitigating that incessant howl about aristocratic influence which the newspapers have kept up ever since the siege of Sebastopol. The present Government are likely to go far in reducing the borough franchise—their object will be to keep up the county franchise, in which however they will probably fail. I can't help thinking that the effect of the instalment of the present Government will be practically to annihilate and extinguish the Conservative party for all parliamentary purposes. There will be a certain number of Tory squires and parsons in the country, but their opinions will be

scarcely represented in the House of Commons. The only real and active difference will be between the moderate politicians and the Bright party, who wish for an entirely new system. In this case the choice of Ministers will depend more on personal tastes and preferences than on principles, and those persons who are most pliant and submissive to the House, who have least independence and 'arrogance' will be selected. With respect to Louis Napoleon, I share, and have for some time shared, all your convictions of his insincerity to this country. I have no doubt that if it suited his purpose, he would at any time throw us over. But hitherto it has not suited his purpose ; on the contrary he has derived great benefit from the countenance shewn him by our Court and Govt., and I strongly suspect that he would greatly prefer remaining at peace, if he can keep his throne upright without going to war. The successor of Napoleon I does not require to be reminded that war is a dangerous game. But L. N. is no general—he cannot personally derive prestige from war, and a successful victorious general is a formidable rival to an emperor whose throne rests substantially on the army. I am afraid that Cherbourg and Montalembert's pamphlet and the clamour of military and naval writers will drive us into a vast deal of unnecessary and wasteful expense for fortifications and other defensive contrivances. The other day the *Times* announced that there was to be an embodied militia artillery permanently stationed at all the southern ports. If we are really alarmed at L. N's designs, we ought to be consistent. We ought to put an end to all coquetry with him, and to lose no time in drawing closer to Austria and Prussia, in order to organise the means of resistance to France, as in the time of the first Empire. It seems to me moreover that if we believe him to meditate a concerted attack upon us in order to tread out our free institutions, we ought to resort to Canning's threat of a war of opinion, and to intimate that in case of necessity we can appeal to the subjects against the Sovereign.

A throne which rests upon bayonets cannot ever have a firm foundation.

"I see from the talk in this week's *Economist* that the public deposits are now nearly 2 millions higher than they were this time last year. Why is this ?

"We shall probably hear in a few days what effect is produced in the Ionian Isles by the publications of Young's despatch. It has been a most unfortunate business. Gladstone will be placed in a very embarrassing position—he will not like to return and yet I do not see how an enquiry conducted under such circumstances can be otherwise than fruitless. It is clear to me that he is preparing to join this Govt., but he is so impulsive and changeable that nobody can foretell the result.

"Ever yours sincerely
"G. C. LEWIS."

"THE ROYAL HOTEL,
"EDINBURGH,
"Dec. 19th, 1858.

"MY DEAR LEWIS,

"I have been so much on the move since I got your letter of the 28th ult. that I have not had an opportunity to answer it till this Sunday : A Sunday in a Scotch Hotel is the best of opportunities for getting up any amount of arrears of correspondence. You may go to Church once and I have been to hear Dr. Guthrie, where Moncrieff and I were put into the Elders' pew and found ourselves sitting next to the Duke of Argyll and Charles Howard. But if you have scores of friends in the Town and on every other day of the week asked to dinner three deep, you have no chance of seeing anyone or asking to be seen on a Sunday. This is therefore the twenty-fourth letter I have written to-day.

Bright is here as you will have seen by the papers. His meeting was a great cram but in the main out of curiosity. Russell of the *Scotsman*, of whom doubtless you have often heard, indeed you must know him as the author of the article against the repeal of the Newspaper

Stamp, told me he never knew his office so crowded, both before and after the meeting, with people asking to have their names omitted from the list of the platform audience. The Scotch have a great grievance of their own which gave some interest to the Meeting, though strange to say Bright made nothing of it. You know that in Scotland, no freeholder of property within a Parliamentary city or borough has a vote for the Country. This was attempted by the Tories in respect to England in 1832 but Lord John said he would rather withdraw the Bill than agree to it. But the Tories were more successful with the Scotch Bill. They have another grievance. In Scotland there are extremely few freeholds : Only a few large Proprietors holding direct from the Crown : But the great Majority hold under a tenure of *perpetual* feu upon a small annual payment. Practically they are, however as far as property goes, equal to our freeholds. These are excluded altogether under £10 a year. Upon these points there has been a great agitation for some years, and Bright had therefore a base of operation to start upon, though he used it but little. But taking the sum and substance of his Edinburgh speech he goes for no more in terms than most Liberals will acquiesce in. He wants an extension of the Suffrage (his point is not now so definite as it was). And he wants a redistribution of members from small boroughs to large ones (he repudiates *equal* electoral districts). And he is all but silent in respect to the Ballot.

“ Since his meeting he spent two hours with me. He entered very freely into his views. He complains bitterly that he is misrepresented. He declares that he is against any unnecessary change ; and most of all change for changes sake. He wishes to be thought very moderate and practical. I am convinced that both at Birmingham and Manchester he was carried away much further than he intended : And I know that Charles Villiers who saw him before the Birmingham Meeting thinks so. The fact is he expresses himself more strongly than his real views would justify, and then he complains

of misrepresentation when the ordinary meaning is put upon his words. Above all things he seemed anxious to disavow any wish to keep the present Govt. in, and expects that the second reading of their Reform Bill will afford an opportunity for the Liberals uniting against them. He was quite aware of the necessity of taking the Issue upon the second reading and not trusting to Committee, if there were serious objections to their Bill in its details. Upon one view we came to clear accord, viz : if the scope and tendency of the Bill is to weaken the Borough representation and to strengthen or extend the County, either by an addition of members or by any new scheme of voting such as excluding the Borough freeholders, then it ought to be opposed on the second reading whatever it proposed in reference to Boroughs. Without condescending, as the Scotch say, to any particulars we are perfectly agreed upon the course : And I own this seems to me the only point of difficulty the Govt. have to encounter. The speeches of Mills and those who are known to be in their confidence, less or more, all point to a course which will land them in that difficulty. On the whole Bright's tone is for turning out the Govt. and seeing another form in which he is prepared to take a part. He quite sees the difficulty of forming a Govt. without the co-operation of Lord Palmerston and Lord John. At least the necessity of an arrangement under which they shall not be in hostility. I hear that in private, among his confidential friends, he talks of Lord Granville as first Minister and Lord John leading the Commons.

"Lowe's speech was unfortunate though very true in many respects. It has given aid to the agitation ; and people say that it confirms the suspicion that the Bill of 1854 was never really intended to be carried and that the late Govt. had no intention of bringing in a Bill. You will see however that Bright avoids any personal attack on this score.

"You will have seen an explanation in the papers about the amount of the public deposits. They now

include the India balances which are sometimes large. I don't think this should be, because it is mixing up Indian and British Finance and even to this extent it is dangerous, besides misleading. The public balances ought to be those of the Imperial Treasury only.

"Did you in any of your researches for the lucid article in the last *Edinburgh* discover the cause why Canning did not join the Liverpool Govt. in 1812 when it was formed? I have seen it stated somewhere, I think in Stapleton's Book, that he stood aloof then with Lord Wellesley because he could not make the conditions he wished as to the Catholic question: And great credit is taken for him for the sacrifice. It reads odd that he should have refused the Foreign Seals with Castlereagh as Chancellor of the Exchequer and then afterwards in 1816 accept the India Board with Castlereagh as Foreign Minister: This takes away the personal theory. It always struck me that the real reason why he and Wellesley refused to join Lord Liverpool, was the same as that which induced Graham and others to withdraw from Palmerston in 1855—that they thought the Govt. could not stand and that they would have more prominent places and to themselves a more satisfactory distribution."

"WOODSLEY HOUSE, LEEDS,

"Dec. 22nd.

"I was interrupted at this point on Sunday night by a visit from a good citizen who came to talk politics and thus to redeem the character of the town from the imputation I have already cast upon it. Moncrieff's speech at Leith, which I hope you have seen, was extremely good, and warmly approved by all I met. In coming from Edinburgh here, I travelled part of the way with Bright. He seems only half pleased with his visit to the north. The working classes have made no sign at all. He looks well and says his health never was better. I am spending a day here with Sir Peter Fairbairn: The progress of the place since I was here last in 1851 is marvellous and what I was surprised at, it

appears that the cloth and flax trade for which it was alone distinguished, are secondary to the Iron trade, an entirely new branch. There is a great Reform meeting tonight, but though it is a Radical Town I have not yet met one man who supports Bright. Of course those I have seen are of the middle and better classes. One thing however I have found, that although the Masses are somewhat Radical and Chartist, the rating under the poor law has returned a Tory Board of Guardians with the single exception of one year. All persons, however, seem disposed to let in a fair number of the working classes, but upon a plan which will not swamp all others. How this is to be done is a difficult question. Anything under £6 to £7 rental in places like Leeds and Manchester, is nearly the same as household Suffrage. No doubt a large residence as in the municipal qualification would be a great check. The general feeling, however, is that it is a pity the matter has been stirred at all. Trade and employment are good and no practical grievances exist. They don't like this disturbance. I go home tomorrow.

"Yours truly,
"JAMES WILSON."

"HARPTON,
"Dec. 19, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON.

" . . . In the *Bankers' Magazine* for this month is a fairly written article, recommending a parliamentary enquiry into the Bank Act of '44, and also into the law of Joint Stock Banks, and of banking generally. These subjects are all, more or less, connected, and I am rather disposed to think that it would be well to include the Joint Stock Banks in the enquiry. There is perhaps more passing interest on this question than on any other, and if they are omitted, an attempt will probably be made to get up a second Committee on this subject. It would be very troublesome to have to attend two banking Committees, and I am inclined to anticipate this

proposal by referring the whole matter to a single Committee. How does this strike you? . . .

“Ever yours sincerely,
“G. C. LEWIS.”

“HARPTON,
“22nd December, 1857.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“ . . . What you say about the Exchequer audit is quite true. It is an absurdity to talk of auditing mere figures, where no money is received or paid. However, even if the plan had more to recommend it, we could not *now* entertain it. We must move the previous question on all such propositions.

“It has occurred to me that if Banking Committees are appointed by both Houses, the Commons might take the Bank Act, and the Lords the question of Joint Stock Banks. In this manner the labour would be divided, instead of each Committee investigating both subjects.

“The National Gallery Commissioners are to choose their own Secretary, but I recommended Bonamy Price both to Lord Broughton, and to the Dean of St. Paul’s, and they seemed to think that he would suit them very well. The Commissioners have not met, and I do not know what views the others may have. If B. Price wishes to be Secretary to this Commission, I would advise him to write to Lord Broughton, and to write or call upon Milman. . . .

“Ever yours sincerely,
“G. C. LEWIS.”

“GROVE MILL HOUSE,
“WATFORD,
“24th Dec., 1858.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“Cobden’s is a bold financial plan, but I cannot see that it has any other merit than boldness. The attempt to catch the farmer is so palpable, that they will hardly bite at the hook baited by their old enemy.

“Colonial policy is a different question from financial policy, and my belief is that we now starve all our domestic

and internal institutions and establishments, for the sake of our colonial Empire—to which (and Ireland) all our disposable money goes. The public, however, still think that Colonies are not dear at this price : in which I beg leave to differ from them.

“ Ever yrs sincerely,
“ G. C. LEWIS.”

“ 52, ALBANY STREET,
“ EDINBURGH,
“ Dec. 25/57.

“ MY DEAR LEWIS,

“ Here is a communication from the Fo: Office about the Austrian Telegraph, which opens the door for any proposal we may think it right to make. It still speaks of a minimum annual payment, but I would certainly in the first place try the principle of a contingent guarantee, because it is certain that the traffic will be so great as to reduce our payments to the mere cost of our messages ; and that even in the event of our using in part or in whole some other line. The line through Austria is so much the most direct that the public are sure to use it chiefly. I understand from Seymour’s letter that time is pressing. Have you heard from Ld. Stanley—would it not be better if we are to have the opinion of the Bd. of Trade upon such things that we should transmit papers officially and have their replies officially, as the present plan leaves unintelligible gaps in the correspondence, and leads to acts of which there is no record.

“ The Bank has recovered wonderfully fast. The rapid inflow of gold, while at the same time our exports have been diminished and our imports greatly increased during the last two months—operations exactly the reverse of the theory upon which the currency school rely for correcting the Exchanges, shows how difficult and dangerous it is to rely upon mere theory in matters of practice. No doubt that a favourable exchange will follow extensive exports and limited imports ; but when a crisis arises, it is not the transactions of a country

which immediately follow that will determine its length or severity, but the transactions of the past which have assumed the form of Book debts, or as the Americans say indebtedness. Let us look at Loyds theory. A crisis arises. Contract the currency ; depress prices ; by that means increase exports and decrease imports and a balance will arise in our favour which will bring back Gold. No logic could be clearer. It is not to be contested. But look at the facts in this case. A crisis arose in Oct. and Nov. the currency was not contracted because it could not be, but the rate of interest was raised ; prices were depressed ; but the trade accounts of Nov. show a *falling off of exports* of 20 per cent. and an *increase of imports* of the chief articles ; and this according to the logical theory should have led to adverse exchanges and an export of Gold ; on the contrary Gold arrives from every quarter in unparalleled quantities. The reason is obvious ; the whole world was indebted to us and that was the chief reason why our own capital was so much exhausted : In consequence of this, foreign countries not only send us gold but also commodities to liquidate the debts due to us. Cotton, wool, and gold come for the same purpose to balance their engagements. In the meantime we cease to export to the same extent because demand is interrupted.

“ Thus an importation of gold though not created by diminished exports and increased imports yet at such a time always accompanies that state of things.

“ How difficult it is to generalise and lay down symmetrical principles and theories without knowing all the circumstances and taking them into account ; and how dangerous it is to dogmatise in the shape of legislation upon such subjects.

“ The more one sees the more one is convinced of the folly of attempting to guide so fine and intricate a machine as commercial relations in all their bearings and especially in connexion with monetary affairs.

“ Yours truly,

“ JAMES WILSON.”

"HARPTON,
 "27th December, 1857.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"This Austrian telegraph question has now been taken up by the Cabinet, and time would, I think, be lost by getting up an official correspondence between the Treasury and the Board of Trade. I have sent Stanley your letter, but have not yet received his answer. I suppose that he is occupied with shooting and Christmas festivities. We cannot decide on one proposal without reference to the other, but I have written to Lord Clarendon on the subject, and I hope that there will not now be any material delay. I have returned Seymour's letters to the Treasury.

"Your explanation of the recent phenomena with respect to increase of the import of bullion and diminution of exports is doubtless correct, and it shews that Loyd's theory requires amendment. It is not so much that practice does not accord with theory, as that the theory is founded on an imperfect induction, and requires rectification. There is an argument in favour of a legislative limit on note issues, which I think is worth something. No doubt when a crisis has arrived, it creates and increases alarm, and suggests the idea of running to the Bank in order to be first served. But on the other hand, what you want at such a moment is something which will strike men's imaginations without doing much mischief. Now where there is a fixed limit you have something to give away, before you come to a Government loan or guarantee, or a suspension of cash payments. In this last case, the extent of what has been really done has been marvellously small. Probably an issue to the public averaging about £250,000 a day for 3 or 4 weeks. Taking it according to the rigour of the Overstonite doctrine, it is only 2 millions for 6 weeks.

"The Bank has recovered itself with greater rapidity than could have been reasonably anticipated a month ago. At the same time, the last weekly return seems to me

decisive as to the adoption of the course which was taken on Thursday, and I cannot understand why there should have been a *strong* debate and therefore much difference of opinion in the Court, which is what the Governor of the Bank informs me occurred. I shall be glad to learn in due time what you hear in Scotland about the Scotch banks, dead and alive. I suppose there is no possibility of bringing about a coalition of 2 or 3 banks, so as to make a Bank of Scotland, like the Bank of Ireland. Has anything in the late crisis occurred to shake your faith in the expediency of the one pound note system? Lord Grey, I believe, is for abolishing them in Scotland and introducing them in England, which seems an odd view.

"The announcement about the Company has gone off quietly enough, and the news of Lucknow (though more important perhaps on private than on public grounds) has a most favourable effect in *this* country. If any disaster had occurred, the public would have been almost ready to impeach ministers.

"You will probably hear in Scotland much sympathy with the fate of the Company. From the accident of Dundas being so many years at the head of the India Board, and Scotland being managed by him, the Indian Civil Service has for many years been very Scotch. They are moreover an enterprising, thriving race, and *transplant well*.

"Do you believe that if limited liability of banks was permitted, the existing joint stock banks would limit their liability, or that a newly established bank with limited liability would be able to compete with the existing banks whose liability is unlimited? It is not at all clear to me that if limited liability of banks were legalised, the law would not remain a dead letter.

"Ever yours sincerely,

G. C. LEWIS.

"Why is the *Times* so not in favour of limited liability in banks?"

"HARPTON,
"Dec. 27, 1858.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I am much obliged to you for your full and interesting account of your *experiences* at Edinburgh and Leeds, and of your conversations with Bright. I suspect the truth to be that, in the excitement of speaking, he lets out his real opinions. He finds that these give offence, create alarm, alienate supporters, and deter other Liberals from embarking in his boat. Being desirous of making himself a Leader, and becoming a Minister, he sees in his cool moments that he has made a mistake, and in private conversation he retracts what he said in public, and complains that he has been misunderstood and misrepresented. It is clear that if Bright accepts office in any possible ministry, he must agree to keep many of his strongest opinions in the background. If he does not, he will find it impossible that he and his colleagues should go on together. He has withdrawn so much of what he said in his Birmingham speech that it is difficult to know what he is prepared to stand by. His Edinburgh speech seemed to me to be cut down to a Whig programme. It is clear that the fate of the Bill must be decided on the second reading. If it is read a second time, it will go through Committee, and the Lords will agree to it in such a form as will satisfy the Commons. I take for granted that any Bill which a Conservative Govt. can propose will fall much below Bright's mark, and that he and his friends will be ready to oppose it. The decision will therefore rest with the Whigs and moderate Liberals. We shall be in the position in which the Radicals were last session. If we vote for the second reading of the Bill, the Govt. will be saved—if we join Bright, they will be beat and will have to bring in a new Bill, to dissolve or to go out. It would be a very awkward question for them to go to the country upon. Their candidates would be beat in every borough above the smallest size. They might bring in another Bill, but Dizzy's object no doubt will be to propose such

a Bill as the moderate Liberals will support. Palm^a. and many persons on our side will be unwilling to oppose any reasonable Bill. My notion is that it will be a *motley* production—one or two clauses put in to please the Conservatives, and one or two strong things to make it difficult for Liberals to oppose it. I suspect that whatever the measure is, Gladstone will support it. As to Graham, there is more doubt. He will wish to go with Gladstone, and to keep in the Gov^t., but he will be a good deal influenced by the Carlisle ten pounders. We must look to the general character and tendency of the measure, and vote against it if these are objectionable, without trusting to the committee for anything more than the amendment of details, such as the substitution of one borough for another. I see great objection to the large addition to county members proposed by the Bill of 1854, and with respect to disfranchisement it is better in some respects to do it by a Schedule B. than a Schedule A. More influence is given to the trading classes by abolishing Arundel and Calne, and transferring their members to manufacturing towns. But if all moderate sized boroughs are abolished, and we have nothing but counties and large towns, how are men like Weguelin and Hankey—commercial men and bankers who live in London and have no local influence—to get into Parliament? It is dangerous to drive any one principle to excess in framing a representative system. The examples of Town Councils and Boards of Guardians must not be too much relied on in estimating the effects of a parliamentary franchise. In general, there is no contest for these offices—with respect to a Board of Guardians, the difficulty is to find people who will serve. In the choice of a parish guardian, a ratepayer has only to consider who is a fit person to be entrusted with the power of giving relief. He knows the characters of his neighbours, and is a competent judge of this point. But it is a very different matter when there is a severe struggle between opposing parties, when the question at issue is something lying quite out of his ken, and when a clever

man tries to bamboozle him with a fluent speech about the Bomba case or the addresses of the French Colonels, or the American enlistment question. It is therefore quite conceivable that a franchise which works perfectly for parochial and municipal purposes should fail for Parliamentary purposes. My belief is that a great reduction of the borough franchise would create an extremely venal constituency—men whose votes, if not obtained by direct bribery, would be purchased by a blanket at Christmas. Bright is entirely mistaken in supposing that our rate-paying suffrages for local purposes are ancient. Most of them have been introduced quite recently. Considering how long Bright has been in Parliament, he is a wonderfully ignorant man. His knowledge of facts is limited and superficial. He makes up for his deficiency by confidence. Ld. Liverpool's Ministry was very weak when it was first formed, and it was not expected to stand. Brougham told me that it was the news of Salamanca which first gave it life. Perhaps this was Canning's speculation. He thought his chance better than Castlereagh's and therefore stood out. When Bonaparte was twice beaten, and the peace made, Castlereagh had shot so far ahead, that Canning was glad to take the India Board and eat humble pie. His Lisbon embassy was an audacious affair, but he scrambled through it.

"Senior and his daughter are coming here on the 1st to stay till the 4th. Would it be possible to tempt you and Mrs. Wilson to come here on that day? I am afraid after so much travelling you may not be inclined to move. We should be very happy to see you.

"V. sincerely yours,
"G. C. LEWIS."

CHAPTER XXIII

DIARY, 1858

DIARY J. May 1 : " Heard from Mr. Hutton. I got £10 10 0 for *Economist* work."

May 8 : " Arrived at Upper Belgrave Street. Papa at home."

10th : " Mamma, Papa, Tilly and I to the Queen's Ball eleven to three."

13th : " Mr. Greg called for me at five and took me to Wimbledon."

Mrs. Greg had then so far recovered her health that she had returned home, and my sister Julia had made her acquaintance. She had become a Roman Catholic, and I remember walking on the lawn at Park Lodge with Cardinal Manning during one of his visits to her.

14th : " Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Arnold, M. de Rémusat, Mr. Walrond, and Mr. Fitzjames Stephen dined with the Gregs."

15th : " Mr. Greg brought me home at 7. Papa, Mamma, Zeno and Sophie went to Lady Palmerston's party."

21st : " In the House Mr. Cardwell withdrew his motion."

26th : " Mamma, Papa, and Tilly to a party at the Gladstones'."

June 6 : " Dinner-party, Madame de Bury, M. de Rémusat, Mr. Grant Duff, Messrs. Sinclair, Monckton Milnes, Hayward, Greg, Galton, Sir G. Cornwall Lewis, Sir W. Dundas, Professor Nicoll, and the Lord Provost."

30th, Wednesday : " Read Papa's speech of Monday aloud."

July 10 : " Dinner-party, Sir G. C. Lewis, and Lady Theresa Lewis, Fremantles, Clays, Lord Gifford, Lord John Hay. Headache, did not go down."

18th : " Papa dined with Lord Palmerston."

21st : " Papa, Mamma and I drove to Wimbledon and dined with the Gregs. Camerons and Huttons there. I stayed on."

22nd : " Walked and chatted with Mrs. Greg, and she read aloud to us in the evening."

Diary E. July 2 : " Mr. Greg called for Julia and me, and we drove to Wimbledon to dine and sleep. Mr., Mrs. and Miss Cameron dined there. Mrs. Cameron persisted in taking us to her sister's, Mrs. Prinsep's at Little Holland House. We found a small party, four sisters, Lady Somers and Mrs. Dalrymple being there. Miss Treherne sang. Mr. Henry Taylor, Rossetti, etc. there. Mr. Watts's studio in the house, saw his pictures there and in dining-room. He had already gone to bed."

4th : " Papa, Walter, Julia, and I to Mrs. Prinsep's garden party at Little Holland House. Miss Treherne sang operatic music with Graziani."

Diary J. 25th : " Papa, Mamma, and I to Little Holland House, and with Prince Frederick of Holstein to Marochetti's studio."

Little Holland House—in London parlance at that time " The Kingdom of Pattledom "—was the Dower House of Holland House. When in Italy, Watts, the painter, had, during four years, been the guest of Lord and Lady Holland when Lord Holland was our Minister at Florence. On returning to live in Holland House, the Hollands, Watts told me, were anxious that he should still remain their guest. For professional reasons he declined the kind invitation ; but, soon after, Little Holland House becoming vacant, he accepted Lord Holland's offer that he should live there, provided he might build studios attached to the picturesque old

building. He had previously made the acquaintance of Mr. and Mrs. Prinsep and their family, and Watts arranged that they should make common *ménage* with him at Little Holland House.

Mr. Prinsep, after a career in India, had been elected a member of the Indian Council at home. His wife was the daughter of an East Indian, Pattle by name, of whom many amusing stories were told. He lived and died in Calcutta. He was the father of a bevy of large, striking-looking daughters, two of whom had notably the kind of beauty which is often allied to an Oriental strain in the blood. It was these ladies, having all married, who reigned as Queens in the Kingdom of Pattledom when congregating together at Little Holland House. It became notable through the reason that Watts and his studios attracted some of the most eminent artists of the day, and celebrities also in literature,—Tennyson and Henry Taylor being the salient stars. But its celebrity was also owing to the vitality of these ladies, and their ability to make the atmosphere attractive in an unusual and somewhat Bohemian manner, the tastes and comforts of the men of genius whom they sought being assiduously consulted. There were some in London Society who shied at the unconventional doings of the Kingdom of Pattledom. Holland House showed little sympathy with their proceedings, but many found them amusing and a relief from the staid grandeur of the more sedate magnates of London Society. My father was one who enjoyed his afternoons at Little Holland House. He naturally took great interest in Watts's studios and in his work, also very much admired the lovely Irish songstress, Miss Treherne (afterwards the notable Mrs. Weldon), as she sang her charming ditties whilst swinging in a hammock in the open air and joining with unpremeditated impulse with the fine baritone Graziani in operatic duets.¹

¹ The glory had departed from the Dower House when I, for the first and last time, visited it. The property had passed over to Lord Ilchester, and the Kingdom of Pattledom had vanished. Just before our marriage, my husband

Diary E. July 5 : " Heard from Ida von Mohl of her engagement to Mr. Franz Schmidt."¹

6th : " Mr. Hutton called. Mamma, Walter, and I drove to Wimbledon to dinner. Mr. Arthur Clough and Mr. James Spedding there. Very pleasant."

7th : " Dinner party. James Clays, Mr. Arnold, Moffatts, Miss Sinclair, Mr. Charles Kinglake, Mr. McKinnon, Mr. Greg, Sir Arthur Elton. In the evening Belotta on harp."

10th : " Dinner party. Sir Thomas, Lady and Miss Fremantle, Sir William, Lady and Miss Clay. Mr. and Mrs. Lowe, Col. and Mrs. Sykes, Lord Gifford and his brother, Lord John Hay, and Sir G. Cornwall Lewis."

12th : " Walter, I, and Emmy went to Clevedon. All very tired. Papa went to a Committee of M.P.'s."

14th : " Emmy and I walked to Walton Bay and sat on the beach."

17th : " Emmy and I sat in the wood, and she read 'Helen' aloud."

25th : " Emmy went with Mrs. Bagehot to Langport. After lunch we drove to Huish. The church bells rang for us."

27th : " Saw room where Walter was born. Went home. Piano arrived."

30th : " Matilda, Zeno and Sophie, and three servants came."

August 2 : " Mamma and Julia arrived."

3rd : " Papa arrived, and he, Mamma, Matilda, Walter and I dined at Clevedon Court. We were

and I drove over rubble and stones, the making of Melbury Road being in process, to the thatched porch of Little Holland House. Excepting for Watts's studio and this thatched porch the house seemed all in tatters. Studios and all were soon to be swept away, and Watts had to build his new Little Holland House, No. 6 Melbury Road.

¹ Mr. F. Schmidt became Baron von Schmidt Zabiero, President of Carinthia. He was a personal friend of Frances Joseph, Emperor of Austria. Ida von Schmidt developed many open evenings for women's work at Klagenfurt. Her sister, Anna von Helmholtz, wife of the great scientist, was a friend of our Princess Royal, later Empress of Germany, and worked with her for the women's cause in Berlin.

treated as bride and bridegroom. Sat in beautiful old oak hall. Music."

13th : "Mr. Greg came. He and Papa played billiards."

19th : "Emmy read me some of Horace Walpole's letters. Walter and I dined at the Eltons'."

21st : "Mr. Greg left for M. de Toqueville's in Normandy. Mr. and Mrs. Hutton came. Walter and I dined at Clevedon Court. Met Sir Claude and Lady Hay, and Mr. Kinglake."

27th : "Mrs. Hutton and Emmy sketched, and I read 'Pride and Prejudice' aloud."

28th : "We all and the Huttons went to Claverton, and found Papa at the station."

September 6 : "Walter and I returned to Clevedon."

13th : "The great Comet seen from beach."

18th : "Returned to Claverton."

September 23 : "Mr. Byng (Poodle Byng) called and talked for nearly two hours."

27th : "Papa, Walter and I went to Herd's Hill. Emmy came to station, and I bade her good-bye."

Oct. 1 : "I left Herd's Hill. Papa, J. and E. started for Paris."

8th : "We went to Claverton."

12th : "Walked with Papa and Mr. Greg, who talked over French politics."

17th : "Walter began his book on Parliamentary Reform."

20th : "Ball. More than 150 people."

27th : "Large luncheon party here of 30. Papa went to Devonport to visit his constituents."

30th : "Mamma, S. and I drove to Bath and brought Papa from station. Mr. Greg and Mr. Joseph Parkes arrived. Walter dined at Mr. Martineau's."

Nov. 6 : "Papa and Julia went to Bristol and lunched at the Deanery."

Dec. 13 : "Papa and J. went to London, Papa *en route* for Edinburgh to sit for his portrait and bust."

"ROYAL HOTEL, PRINCES ST.,
 "EDINBURGH,
 "Dec. 14, 1858.

"MY DEAR ELIZA,

"I have got here safe to-night by the Express. I have met here to-night in this room a brother-in-law of Sir A. Elton (a clergyman)¹ with whom I have struck up a close acquaintance, as he knew me by sight and seems to know everybody that I know. I have not yet got his name—but he is an extremely agreeable and interesting man."

"ROYAL HOTEL, PRINCES ST.,
 "EDINBURGH.
 "Dec. 20, 1858.

"MY DEAR ELIZA,

"I have received your two notes the 16th and 17th. You would get the one I wrote on my arrival.

"I have been sitting every day from about 10 to 3, half the time to Sir John, and half to Mr. Steele. They are both taking great pains and the works are expected to be very fine.

"I dined with the Moncrieffs on Thursday and with Adam Black the Member yesterday. On Monday I dine with *the Sinclairs*, and on Tuesday with Mr. Ritchie, the Proprietor of the *Scotsman*. On Wednesday the Primroses want me to dine with them, but I shall not stay so long, hoping to get away on that day. But they cannot assure me to a day, and it will not do to run any risk for want of sufficient sittings.

"I have a letter from Sir Peter Fairbairn and shall spend a day with them on my way back. I have seen my brothers John and George : I shall not be able to go to Hawick. John Bright is here. I saw him yesterday for some hours. We had a long talk about matters. He professes to great moderation."

"The Sinclairs" mentioned in this letter were daughters of Sir John Sinclair, a friend of my father's—

¹ Mr. Brookfield was a noted preacher, incumbent of St. John's, Mayfair. He and his wife, Sir Arthur Elton's sister, were prominent in the London world of art and literature. Mrs. Brookfield was supposed to be the original of Amelia Sedley in *Vanity Fair*.

and father of "the thirty-six feet of daughters," as they were dubbed. In his property in the very North of Scotland were strata of fine granite. Slabs of these he had transported to Edinburgh for a pavement in front of his house. The Edinburgh folk named these "the Giants' Causeway." On Sir John's death, in a letter of condolence to Miss Catherine Sinclair, my father expressed the admiration he felt for Sir John. In answer she wrote :

"18 Jan. 1858.

"DEAR SIR,

"Many thanks for your most kind and cordial note. Any tribute of respect to the memory of my honoured father, from one who resembles him as you do, in public spirit and patriotism, is consolatory to one who venerated and loved as I did, knowing too, how he would have appreciated your esteem, and I thank you most gratefully for your remarks. With best regards,

"Yours very truly,

"CATHERINE SINCLAIR."

Miss Janet Sinclair, one of the present generation of the family, writes to me :

"Yes, Catherine Sinclair was my father's sister, and one of Sir John's many tall daughters. She was before my time, but my elder sister and brothers remembered her as a *delightful*, kind, merry aunt. I think her best title to fame now is that she was the author of the nursery classic 'Holiday House,' for which there is still a demand. She also started soup kitchens, cabmen's shelters, and volunteers in Edinburgh, where there is a public monument to her."

Diary J. Oct. 1 : "Papa, Emmy, and I went through Salisbury to Southampton. Dined at the Royal George and walked through the town. Went on board at 7.30 P.M."

2nd : "Got to Havre at 6.30 and started at 11.50 for Paris. Got to Paris at 5.30 and to the Hôtel de la Terrasse at 7."

3rd : "Went to Mass in the Madeleine. Called on Mrs. Stewart, Madame Achet de Massy, M. de Bury, Villemain, and Madame Mohl. Dined at Madame Mohl's."

5th : "Emmy not well. Mr. Charles Villiers called and stayed nearly two hours."

6th : "To the Louvre. Madame Achet and Mrs. Stewart called. Dined at Madame Mohl's. Villemain, de Lavergne, Mrs. Phillimore, Mr. Robert Browning and Lady Augusta."

9th : "Dined with the Tourgenieffs at Vert Bois."

10th : "Went to the Drouyn de Lhuys'."

11th : "Rose at 5.30. Got to Bath 12 midnight."

14th : "Papa, Mamma, Tilly and Zeno went to the Moffatts' near Chepstow."

22nd : "Had a ball at Claverton for the 2nd Somerset Militia. 150 people."

26th : "Went to the Ball given by the Militia at the Assembly Rooms. Danced every dance and left at 4.40."

1859. Jan. 1 : "Papa and I went to Harpton Court, Herefordshire, to stay with Sir George and Lady Theresa Cornewall Lewis."

Mr. Senior and his daughter were likewise staying there, and a lasting friendship was struck between them and my family.

This journey to Paris was consequent on a friendship I had formed with Sophie Parnell, sister of the patriot, Charles Stewart. When staying in Belgrave Square with her uncle and aunt, Sir Ralph and Lady Howard, she and I would walk together in the Belgrave Square and Eaton Square Gardens, and during these walks we decided that I should ask my parents to go to Madame Achet de Massy's, the same establishment in Paris where Sophie was about to finish her education. Her American grandmother, Mrs. Stewart, lived there, and her elder sister, Delia, was one of the beauties of the Court of Louis Napoleon. Sophie likewise was very lovely, tall, fair, and had an exquisite swan-like throat which attracted

much admiration in Paris. It was not difficult to get my parents to consent to my plan—anything that I desired they were anxious to grant.

It was the year of the great comet, and well do I recollect our trio standing on deck as we steamed from Southampton away to the Solent, gazing up at the wonder in the sky—a trailing sheath of quivering gold—its glory reflected in tremulous glitter on the waters below.

From Paris my father wrote to my mother : “ We have the finest of weather. Charles Villiers and Phinn are here, they have both called to-day. The weather is all we could wish, but Paris is empty of notables. We are all perfectly pleased with Madame Achet de Massy’s establishment ; in every respect it is appointed in a first rate manner ; clean, orderly and perfect, and she is very ladylike and sensible ; her daughter also sensible. Emmy seems reconciled to it, and I doubt not will get on very well. We go to the Tourgenieffs’ country house to-morrow and to M. Drouyn de Lhuys on Friday. To-night we dine with the Mohls and meet Villemain and Lavergne.”

On hearing my father was going to Paris, Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys wrote to him :

“ CHER MONSIEUR WILSON,

“ Nous sommes à *Amblain Villiers*, où l’on arrive en prenant le chemin de fer d’Orsay, (à la Barrière de l’Enfer) jusqu’à Massy et là ma voiture va recevoir mes hôtes et les amener chez moi, lorsqu’ils veulent bien me prévenir de leur visite. Ce dernier trajet est d’environ un quart d’heure.

“ J’aurais, ainsi que Mme. Drouyn de Lhuys, le plus grand plaisir à vous revoir ainsi que la portion de votre famille que vous accompagnerait dans cette petite excursion. J’aurais bien des choses à vous dire sur la politique. Je vous avouerai franchement que je trouve plus qu’*ingénues* les conséquences que l’on tire des *trois discours*. En France ils ont fait peu d’impression parceque l’on sait que le *humbug* est à l’ordre du jour.

Tout cela ressemble aux affiches de théâtre en Espagne !
la misina con les mismols.

(In English) "Yours very sincerely,
"DROUYN DE LHUYS.

"AMBLAIN VILLIERS, PRÈS VERRIÈRES LE BUISSON,

"SEINE ET OISE.

"19th Sep. 1858."

I remember this country home and that of the Tourgenieffs as being very charming—the gardens radiant in brilliant flowers and autumn sunshine—but very different from our English country houses, and meant for retirement from the life of Paris during the summer ; whereas our country house life generally means only society carried on in the country instead of in London.

My sister Julia writes to my mother : " Please tell the others that as we shall leave Emmy on Sunday, they had better write their letters to her on Friday, that she may have the amusement and consolation of them the day we leave." Still, as ever, was my Julia like a second mother to me !

CHAPTER XXIV

CONSERVATIVE REFORM BILL—DEFEAT OF LORD DERBY'S GOVERNMENT

" CLAVERTON MANOR,

" NR. BATH,

" *Jan.* 5/59.

" MY DEAR LEWIS,

" I return you the proof of the article in the *Edinr.* which I have read with great pleasure. No one can complain this time that you have amplified the incidents of the narrative. I wish some of the passages struck out for brevity's sake had been left. I hope you will publish the series of articles when completed in a separate form ; they will be a convenient and useful compendium of the political occurrences during a very interesting period.¹ You will find a clerical error in a note to page 33. The date of the letter to Chateaubriand must have been Sep. 1822 not 1812. I shall look eagerly for your article on Reform.

" Pray repeat to Lady Theresa, how very much Miss Wilson and I enjoyed our visit to Harpton. We very much hope you may on your way to town arrange to spend from Saturday to Monday or Tuesday here. The train we came by brought us direct without any loss of time.

" With kind regards to your circle in which my daughter joins, believe me

" Yours always truly,

" JAMES WILSON."

The subject most discussed in the country from the advent of Lord Derby's Ministry in February 1858 to

¹ A year after Sir G. C. Lewis's death these essays were edited in book form by Sir E. Head, entitled "Essays on Some Administrations of Great Britain—1783-1830."

when it was defeated, June 1859, was the Reform Bill included in his programme as a measure to be brought forward. In the following letters it will be seen that the necessity of bringing in a Reform Bill at all was viewed by many with much indifference. Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, however, concocted Bills which would have advanced the views of their party better than any which the Government would be likely to bring forward. It was considered an anomaly among the Liberals that any Conservative Government should bring in any Reform Bill, and was condemned by them as a futile attempt to gain votes.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"HARPTON, 1859.

" . . . The interview which I mentioned to you has taken place, but has led only to a negative result. Bright in fact came to be helped out of his difficulties, which the other [Lord John Russell] refused to do. This is a great proof of the wisdom of not being in too great a hurry to act. Lord John's position is materially strengthened, simply by keeping quiet, and allowing others to expose and weaken themselves.

"I have read the article in the *National Review*, which contains much useful reasoning. . . . I do not think that the plan of a variable borough franchise, after the long reign of a uniform franchise, practicable. People would never rest until the whole of it was reduced to the level of the lowest.

"Whatever may be the fate of the Government, I think the chances are against a Reform Bill being safely navigated into harbour this Session.

"Ever yours sincerely,
"G. C. LEWIS."

"CLAVERTON MANOR,

"BATH,

"Jan. 10th/59.

"MY DEAR LEWIS,

"Thanks for your note. If you reprint in a pamphlet form the series of articles on the Administration

of the early part of the century I hope you will retain the passages to be now omitted, particularly the clear and succinct account of the Peninsular War. Senior printed his article on American Slavery with all the passages restored. We shall have no choice about a motion on the Charles et Georges affair. I believe Roebuck will bring it forward and we shall have to take a line. I shall certainly vote with him as at present advised. It turns out worse and worse as the case comes out. Captain Poynter who commanded the *Racoon*, one of our ships sent by Malmesbury to the Tagus, dined here yesterday. The account he gives of the affair is most disgraceful to England.

"I hear from a friend in town who professes to have seen the list of disfranchisement under Lord Derby's Bill and he says it is a long one and includes some double seats. No doubt it is intended to give liberally to the counties. If this be so, any good motion upon any other subject would defeat the Govt. in order to get rid of a distasteful Bill on Reform, on which people don't like to vote directly.

"I go up to town to-morrow and remain till Saturday. It would suit us to receive your party including the young ladies any time next week. We shall be very glad if you can come. I will get the Dean of Bristol and Walter Bagehot to meet you. The *Edinburgh* lags behind. I hope to find it in town.

"Lord John seems to have been very decided with Bright. In a letter I had from the Dean last week in referring to Bright's interview he says that Lord John 'refused all participation in his proceedings.' These I take it are Lord John's own words as they are given as a quotation, I doubt not from a letter from him.

"France continues a European nuisance. It is very difficult for a despotic and a free country both very powerful to exist side by side. A despotism which asks the aid or concurrence of nobody and has no Parl^t to control it and can borrow money without limit, has an enormous advantage. They are getting fast ahead of

our navy. I have just got the account of their debt for the last year. It is again about £13,000,000 higher.

"Yours truly,

"JAMES WILSON."

"HARPTON.

"Jan. 12th, 1859.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"... I have no doubt that Ld. John's answer to Bright was decisive as to declining to co-operate in his scheme of reform. He communicated the details of his plan to Ld. J., who said that it was better than his speeches, but still not such as he could support. Bright's position must, I think, strengthen the Whigs, when Parliament meets. The alarm in the House which L. Napoleon has created by his speech to Hübner shows him that there are other interests besides an army to be consulted nowadays before a nation goes to war. The more the French gamble in shares, the better security we have for peace. It is however a dreadful calamity to have a band of 500,000 robbers with a despot at their head in the centre of Europe. It is ludicrous to suppose that L. N. is going to fight for *liberty* in Italy. He can only pretend to fight for *independence*. This is an awkward watchword for us, considering what has been going on of late in India. If I ever reprint my articles, I shall certainly restore the passage on the Peninsular war. The debate on the address will probably turn chiefly on foreign affairs.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"G. C. LEWIS."

Robert Lowe writes :

"34 LOWNDES SQUARE,

"25th January 1859.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"... People here seem to think worse of Derby's prospects than you do. I don't exactly know why—perhaps it is in case of war which is believed to be imminent, the country would hardly trust the reins in such feeble hands.

"Bright seems to me to have settled his own task at any rate, which is something gained. I am not quite sure Derby will find it so easy to pass even a moderate Bill. Nobody wants any and the Liberals least of all.

"The weakness of the position seems to me not so much in the discord of the Chiefs, as in the insubordination of our troops.

"Remember me kindly to the ladies, and believe me,

"Very truly yours,

"ROBERT LOWE."

Though war was supposed to be imminent the danger was staved off by Palmerston's diplomatic skill. When Palmerston meant that England *should* go to war with Russia he attained his object ; now when he meant that England should *not* go to war, or mix herself up in foreign imbroglios he equally attained his object—in both questions his will-power and abilities conquered. The first time for what is now recognised to have been a bad cause, the second time for a good cause. Green in his short history writes : "At home Palmerston's policy was one of pure inaction, his whole energy was directed to the preservation of English neutrality in five great strifes, which distracted not only Europe but the New World ; a war between France and Austria which ended in the creation of the Kingdom of Italy, Civil War in America . . . an insurrection in Poland in 1868, an attack of France upon Mexico, and of Austria and Prussia upon Denmark in 1864."

Lord John Hay writes :

"MINTO,

"Feb. 20, 1859.

" . . . I much fear personal considerations are inducing weakness in the Liberal party. I still more fear but cannot help thinking a sinister policy may lead some of the ' Official ' Liberals to support Lord Derby through his Reform Bill.

"Yours very truly,

"J. L. HAY."

Diary E. 1859. January 29 : "Four mechanics from Devonport came as a deputation to papa about the Superannuation Bill, and lunched with us."

February 2 : "Papa dined at Lord Palmerston's to hear the Queen's speech."

3rd : "The Queen opened Parliament in person."

28th : "Mr. Disraeli brought forward his Reform Bill in House of Commons."

March 7 : "Debate on Indian Finance in House of Commons. Papa spoke."

22nd : "Papa opened the adjourned Reform Debate in House of Commons."

24th : "Walter and I went to Belgrave Street."

29th : "Gladstone opened the Debate on Reform continued."

31st : "Division on Reform Bill. Majority of 30 for Lord John Russell's amendment against Government."

Mr. Disraeli introduced the Conservative Bill of Reform on February 28, 1859, explaining it to the House of Commons in an almost triumphant tone. The Opposition made a strong case against it at the second reading. Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham drew up an amendment which caused a debate of seven nights, during which Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Sir Hugh Cairns, Lord Palmerston and Mr. Sidney Herbert all pronounced for the amendment. The result was that the Government was beaten by a majority of 30 on April 1, and the Parliament of 1857 was dissolved forthwith.

Bagehot's Reform article, reprinted as a pamphlet, aroused much admiration in the political world. Mr. Robert Lowe writes :

"34, LOWNDEN SQUARE.

"10th March, 1859.

"MY DEAR MR. BAGEHOT,

"Pray accept my best thanks for your excellent article on Reform, which is beyond compare the best I have seen on the subject, and is indeed written with the insight of a statesman and the moderation of a

philosopher. At the same time I fear that the passion for equality (the shallowest of all delusions) is so fixed that any attempt to create inequalities between classes in different places would fail, and that a low franchise in some places would only serve as a lever for obtaining it in all. We could not carry it, and if we could we could not maintain the exception. I also think that we could not leave *existing* boroughs together because a cry would be raised in favour of larger towns which remain unenfranchised. The truth is the impossibility of carrying out your view is on a sample of that which is coming upon us. Your principles are true, but too refined for popular apprehension, and in this as in so many other cases we are forced to sacrifice what we see to be right to the incompetency of the tribunal which would decide upon it. This does not diminish your merit and I do not doubt that your views will bear fruit in one way or other, though not in the direction you propose. Remember me very kindly to Mrs. Bagehot and believe me, very truly yours,

“ ROBERT LOWE.”

Lord Radnor writes:

“ COLESHILL HOUSE,
“ HIGHWORTH.

“ *March 11th, 1859.*

“ DEAR MR. WILSON,

“ Many thanks for your remembrance of me, and Bagehot’s pamphlet, which my son Edward brought to me last evening and I hear it highly spoken of.

“ What a mess Derby & Co. have brought everything into. I never expected good of him : But I did not think they could have done so very badly.”

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ TREASURY.

“ Many thanks for your pamphlet, which is so sensible that it will please no one.

“ Yrs. vy truly,

“ L. ARBUTHNOT.

“ W. BAGEHOT, ESQ.”

" 12, UP. BELGRAVE ST.,

" 12th March, 1859.

" MY DEAR BAGEHOT,

" Everyone speaks in the highest terms of your Reform Pamphlet. Gladstone is delighted with it, and in mentioning it last night, not at the moment knowing we were connected, spoke in great praise of your former book. Let me have a list of those to whom the Pamphlet was sent. Was one sent to Lord Grey? We are getting into some confusion in the political world about the Reform Bill. The great objection among the Radicals is the non-reduction of the double franchise, and among thoughtful politicians the identity of franchise in town and country, on the grounds I put very shortly in a para. at the end of Hutton's article this week. But as things stand these two objections come nearly to the same thing: and Lord John's Resolution embraces both classes of objections. If the matter were to be voted on now the Govt. would be beaten, but what dodges they will resort to during the week to evade a vote no man can tell. They are prolific in schemes. But as a Govt. they are weak and despicable without precedent. But the House is just as bad a one as can be and I see no good to be done with it. It is rife with jealousy. Ld. P. and all our friends agree to Ld. John's resolution: including Graham, Sidney Herbert, etc. Gladstone has not pronounced that I have heard of, although he told me last night that he did not like the Bill, and especially the principle of identity of franchise. He said it was a very different Bill from that he expected.

" Are you right in assuming that the new supplies of Gold must be regarded as affecting not only the existing quantity of gold, but also the Subsiding Currency of Banknotes, cheques etc? I think not—I think the quantity of new supply will act upon the existing quantity of Gold actually required for use. Whatever the supply might be, not a pound would be used in place of cheques or Banknotes: to whatever extent trade increased, these economising forms would be used to the full extent,

except for the purposes for which coin only is used, payment of wages and small retail expenditure. In that form, and I think in that form only, would increased trade and activity lead to a greater use of Gold. Gold is the standard which governs the value of the other forms of credit, but I think they would not interfere with the effect of new supplies, unless a portion of these economising forms of currency were displaced and gold taken in their stead. But that would not follow.

"I entirely agree as to the enormous ramifications of the trade of the world that will for a long time absorb great quantities of gold and lead to increased imports of products purchased with it. The question is: will not these become saturated, and when they are, lead to a sudden fall in gold: and if silver is increased in quantity both by being replaced by gold and by greater production from the mines, may it not go down too, and while both are depressed in relation to other commodities may they not retain nearly the same relative value? These are no doubt remote consequences but not improbable. I wish I had you here to talk over this interesting point. But go on with the articles. When shall we see you? With love to Eliza,

"Yours truly,
"JAMES WILSON."

While the Bagehots were staying in Belgrave Street in March 1859, my father invited all those who had expressed special admiration of Bagehot's pamphlet on Reform to meet them at dinner. These included Lord Grey, Lord Granville, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Robt. Lowe, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Edward Bouverie, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Sir Richard Bethell and Thackeray. Thackeray had written to Chapman and Hall, who published the pamphlet: "I hear Mr. Bagehot has written a wonderfully clever pamphlet, please send me a copy." Referring to this dinner, Walter wrote to my sister from Herd's Hill, where he had gone for a few days: "I am very glad the party is said to be still coming off. It will

really be a very fine collection of public animals. As to Reform, it will be curious, as Mr. Gladstone is going to vote for the Ministers, and Lord Grey has recommended Lord Elcho to vote for them ; and all the rest of the Parliamentary party are decidedly for Lord John's resolution. I take it it is a new idea, to have a dinner of both sides on a division night, particularly a division on a fundamental question, and affecting the Constitution of our Country as one says in articles, and I hope the novelty will prosper." The novelty proved a great success, being Walter Bagehot's introduction to the big political world. Contact with this active political world through congenial intimacy with my father gave a fresh impetus to Bagehot's life. He had reached a landing-place where—to quote his own words respecting William Pitt—he had "Received the inestimable permission to be himself."

Bagehot was in the habit of carrying in his waistcoat pocket a very tiny note-book. In this he wrote ideas that came to him as he lay resting on his sofa. In one is the following : "Living really in the political world is the greatest possible gain in a political country ; knowing at first hand what others know at second hand only. The characters and the play of political life are not otherwise accessible."

Meanwhile Louis Napoleon was scheming how he was to protect himself against further murderous attempts from the Carbonari. He had constant communications with Cavour, who did not intend to let matters slip out of his hands, and threatened that all the secret despatches which had passed between them should be divulged should Louis Napoleon not forward the interests of young Italy to the full. Then the two conspirators,—the terror-stricken adventurer, and the great Italian statesman and patriot—arranged the back-stair business, flavouring of Machiavellian devices, at Plombières on July 21, 1858. Though unknown to many in the Emperor's Court in Paris, the knowledge of this meeting, which was schemed in order to evolve a means of forcing Austria to declare

war, leaked out in the Quartier St. Germain, and was forwarded from 120 Rue du Bac in letters to my sisters at Claverton. Mme. Mohl's intimate friend, Mrs. Schwabe, the staunch ally of all oppressed peoples in Europe, was closely intimate with the promoters of liberty in Italy who were in Cavour's confidence, and through her Mme. Mohl was acquainted with many things of which Louis Napoleon's ministers were ignorant. The machinations hatched at the meeting at Plombières brought forth fruit on April 2, 1859. After there had been endless despatches passing between Lord Malmesbury (our Foreign Minister), Walewski in Paris, and Count Buol in Vienna on the part of England in her endeavours to maintain peace, the conspirators achieved their aim, Austria lost patience and peremptorily summoned Sardinia to disarm, and war was declared. Little time was lost before the French army disembarked at Genoa, and a general rising in Italy took place; the Grand Duke of Tuscany fled and the Grand Duchess of Parma followed. The Emperor Napoleon himself arrived at the seat of war, having nominated the Empress as Regent, and on May 13 he and the King of Sardinia met.

While Louis Napoleon was embarked in a war with Austria, the Liberal Party was greatly alarmed at the idea of our going to war, during the reign of the Conservatives, which at one time seemed inevitable. Lord Derby and his ministers showed sympathy with Austria. The Liberal Party was strongly in sympathy with Italy, and grave fears had been entertained that should England have to join in the war while the Derbyites were in power, the Government would be found incapable of adequately meeting such an emergency.

Sir James Graham wrote :

Private

" NETHERBY,

" 19 March, 1859.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I readily assent to a great portion of your letter. A direct vote of ' no confidence ' would be the best step, if the 350 Liberals would support it; but I doubt whether the extreme Left will concur in any such Vote.

Sir Robert Peel, when he moved it in 1841, was at the Head of a united Party, and possessed their boundless confidence. The present state of affairs among the Liberals is, I fear, the opposite of this. In the presence of 300 Tories in possession of Power, no step can be prudently taken without concert among the Leaders, and Mr. Bright must not be overlooked. The possibility of such concert is very uncertain. If it be impossible, Ld. Derby must remain in Power; and a desultory Warfare will ensue, leading to no decisive result. Accident, not method, will prevail, and the Nation may drift in the meantime into terrible danger.

"I am not so Anti-Austrian as you are. The first national object is the preservation of Peace; but if Louis Napoleon obtain an easy Victory over Austria, it is by no means clear, that he and Russia will leave us any option as to Peace, consistent with our Safety and Honour.

"I am an 'Atom' and a Bystander without any personal object of any kind. I should greatly prefer a Liberal Government; but I am not prepared either to shelve or to neutralise Reform. My belief is that an effective Measure cannot long be delayed. The abuse of the Government corrupting influence in the late Elections has been flagrant. The Packet cases, to which you refer, are striking Samples; and if the Truth be fully investigated and the corrupt Means employed be laid bare, there will be no Apathy about Reform, or I am much mistaken. Heavy Taxes, War Expenditure, and Loans in Time of Peace will soon bring the Nation to its senses, let the Minister be who he may.

"I am obliged by your Explanation of the Dover Case. The Terms employed in contradicting me are exactly fitted to a new arrangement such as you describe, which is in reality worse than I had believed.

"I should be glad if you could obtain undoubted Evidence of this Dover Transaction.

"I am yours sincerely,

"JAMES GRAHAM.

"J. WILSON, ESQ., M.P."

CHAPTER XXV

PARIS

DURING my stay with Madame Achet de Massey I saw much of the Mohls. They asked me frequently to stay for week-ends in the Rue du Bac. In my tribute to Ida von Mohl,—the Preface to my book, "Through Greece and Dalmatia," I describe my visits to them.

"My own close intimacy with Ida von Mohl began in 1858, when I was with Mme. Achet de Massey. Though memory has to travel back across a whole lifetime before reaching the days when my friendship with Ida von Mohl began, how vividly pictures of those days start out of that far-away past! As a legacy of the friendship, began by my family in 1855, I, when not yet quite grown up, had the good luck of being asked more than once to stay in this notable apartment of Mme. Mohl. Much my senior, Ida von Mohl took me under her wing, opening to me mines of treasures in the Louvre, and showing me Paris from the artist's point of view. By nature both she and her aunt were artists. The ranks are quickly thinning of those who visited that then world-known salon in the Rue du Bac. Though Ida von Mohl's place in this *milieu* was not exactly in the foreground, yet assuredly it was not in the background. She stood in a middle distance, not very obvious, but very necessary. Mme. Mohl reigned as the Queen, well in the foreground, by reason of her delicious personality. She was sparkingly alive with intellectual and artistic vitality, grounded in the kindest and soundest of hearts. A little queer—very amusing, brilliantly versatile—wise, witty, and good, was this 'great little Madame Mohl.'

The fashion in which she had made her first entrance on to the stage of notables was somewhat quaint. Her genius for conversing in a manner which always held her audience first told when, living with her mother in an apartment in the Abbaye-aux-Bois, Quartier St. Germain, for the purpose of studying painting, she became acquainted with the famous beauty of the Empire, Mme. Récamier, and the famous beauty's *devoué* Chateaubriand, who paid his respects to his goddess every day in the apartment above the one occupied by Mrs. Clarke and her daughter. By that time, however, the excitement of fervent friendship between these celebrities had somewhat subsided. It had sobered down to a routine process of giving and receiving respectful evidences of adoration,—a process which had become apparently a little monotonous—not to say dull ! So it came to pass that the young Scots lady of good family, endowed with artistic gifts and brilliant vitality, was encouraged to mount from her lower apartment to reanimate the stately intercourse of these distinguished personages, and make tea for them. Apparently they soon became somewhat dependent on these ascents for saving the theoretic enjoyment of each other's company from the ignominy of falling into a state of mental yawning. Stimulated by the fame of her companions, Mary Clarke's genius for conversation thus became fledged. She acquired in the appreciative company of these celebrities the assurance a young girl requires before she can assert to be herself, and impress that self on others. The secret of the lodestone which drew the wide assortment of celebrities to Mme. Mohl's salon in later years was first acquired in this apartment in the Abbaye-aux-Bois, where she learnt to disclose her salient personality in talk. In later days she returned to those early days, when writing a life of Madame Récamier.¹ Her learned husband was equally appreciated by the celebrities who were admitted into the

¹ While writing this book, Mme. Mohl would come nearly every day to Upper Belgrave Street with her manuscript to gain my sister Julia's help in making her English—English !

choice circle drawn there by the brilliant personality of his wife. No grave humour was ever more effective than that displayed by M. Mohl. Emerging out of mines of solemn wisdom and knowledge, these unexpected jests had a special raciness. Walter Bagehot, for one, was greatly captivated by them.

"Those were good days spent in that apartment in the Rue du Bac. From the windows of the salon we looked down on the gardens of the College for Missionaries and would watch the seminarists with their attendant priests pacing up and down in long black cassocks, the Dome of the Invalides rising up in the sky behind its walls. On Friday evenings Madame received ; a few distinguished men might be asked to dine, and before the crowd arrived they and M. Mohl would stand in the centre of the red-furnished salon, thrashing out some matter of interest, Mme. Mohl sitting on one corner ottoman, Ida von Mohl and I on another, listening and imbibing ! What wonderful talk it was ! Truly an art in conversing, finely pointed, aesthetically perfect ; no monologuing, no anxiety in any one or the other to have more than his due in the argument,—a deliberate giving and taking, without hesitation, strain, or impatience. Always on tall lines, it was nevertheless typically gracious, suave, and distinguished,—most pleasant to listen to. One wondered how they could do it like that without making it up beforehand !"¹

Chateaubriand describes Mme Récamier's small room with its bricked floor which Mme. Mohl visited daily as "furnished with a book-case, a harp, a piano, a portrait of Mme. de Stael, and a view of Coppet by moonlight. On the windows there were jars of flowers."

Maria Edgeworth writes on May 20, 1820 : "We went to Mme. de Récamier's in her convent, L'Abbaye-aux-Bois, up seventy-eight steps ; all came in with the asthma ! . . . Mme. Récamier is still beautiful, still dresses herself and her little room with elegant simplicity,

¹ See tribute to Her Excellency Baroness Schmidt-Zabiero, *Through Greece and Dalmatia*.

and lives in a convent only because it is cheap and respectable. M. Récamier is living ; they have not been separated by anything but misfortune."

The Duchess of Devonshire, her great friend, said of Mme. Récamier, "First she's good, next she's *spirituelle*, and after that she's beautiful !"

Towards the spring I was seized with an eager longing to go home. My sisters preserved the following letters :

"RUE DE VALOIS DU ROULE, 4,

"PARIS,

"March 6, 1859.

"MY DEAR MAMMA,

"Thanks for your kind present ; it will be very useful to me, for one sees such pretty things here that one does not in London that I shall be sure to have the opportunity of employing it before going home. I hope I may be fetched at Easter or at the end of the quarter. . . . Yesterday we went to the bal-costumé, and we all amused ourselves very much. . . . My costume was a *vivandière en grande toilette*. It was excessively pretty. I had two skirts, one of sky-blue, and the other scarlet, in *mousseline de soie* trimmed with black, a corsage décolleté of black cotton velvet open and leaving a little white chemise hanging, and a little red cap with a gold tassel on my head, something like this (sketch at side). All the buttons and button-holes on the waist were also in gold. Sophie Parnell had a charming costume as a hussar of Louis Quinze, in white silver and blue velvet. The three others were two soubrettes of Louis Quinze and an Écossaise. We went at nine and stayed till three, all of us dancing straight on all the six hours. We have holidays for a few days now, it being Carnival. . . . I had a letter from Ida Mohl congratulating on Sophie's engagement and consoling me on Eliza's not coming. Miss Parnell is going to be married ; I knew some weeks ago but was forbidden by Sophie to say a word about it. It is to a Mr. Tomson, an American, who is rich. Mrs. Stewart does not like the match at all because he has no

title, and has induced Mrs. Parnell to dislike it also ; but as her father consents, and there is no more sensible reason to oppose it, they are to be married, though Mrs. Stewart says that she will have nothing more to do with her other grandchildren. The marriage will probably come off in a few weeks. I hope to get my letters regularly now that everybody is together, for they are the great events of the week for me. . . .

“ With kindest love to all,

“ I remain,

“ Your affectionate daughter,

“ EMILIE ISA WILSON.”

“ MY DARLING DOODOO,

“ Thanks a thousand times for your present, which, however, I am very loth to accept, considering the very handsome one given me last Autumn. You are a dear child to sit down and write to me out of your turn, and you cannot imagine my gratitude, for I had got into such a state of impatience for a letter you can have no idea. I must write to Eliza and so cannot write any more now. Du wirst die Bilder gleich schicken, nicht wahr, auch den von Gardoni. Du bist ein allerliebstes Kind, wenn ich katholisch wäre, wärest Du meine Virgin Mary, aber weil ich nicht katholisch bin, bist Du der Engel vom Hause.

“ With kindest love,

“ I remain,

“ Your affectionate sister,

“ EMILIE ISA WILSON.”

“ RUE DE VALOIS DU ROULE 4,

“ PARIS,

“ March 13, 1859.

“ MY DEAR SISTERS,

“ No letter again, it is getting worse and worse every week. You *must*, if you please, write regularly twice a week, it is necessary for my existence here. I hope the next letter will bring something decided about my going home, also a letter to Madame Achet telling

her I am going home at Easter, if it is so decided. Sophie Parnell is going at Easter for the marriage of Delia which is to take place in Ireland a week or two after Easter. She left with Mr. Parnell on Thursday and Mr. Tomson followed her the same day, and Mrs. Parnell, who is still against it, discovering after they had started that Mr. Tomson had followed her to Harrogate, started after them Thursday evening to prevent them walking alone in Harrogate. Are they not a mad family? Emily Parnell arrived with Mrs. Parnell and is staying here till Easter. She will spend the summer with Lady Howard, 17, Belgrave Square. . . . Ida Mohl called yesterday to see me and say good-bye. She is to start to-morrow week for Germany; she told me to give you all her love. Mme. Mohl goes in Passion Week, and the wedding will be probably a week or two after.

"On Mardigras we went to the *Favorite* at the Grand Opera. It was very pretty of course, and in coming home we saw a great many masks. It was great fun. In the morning we had gone to see the Boeuf Gras, which was not over amusing as it was very cold and we had to wait a long time. . . . It is nearly decided that my friend the Wallachian will leave in June. I like her very much. I am even more with her than with Sophie now that Emily Parnell has come. I must get dressed for church now and will finish this when I come back. *I hope* I shall get a letter between this and then. The morning post has come in and no letter for me. It is very shameful, but I have hopes for the four o'clock post. There are no new fashions as far as I know; they are beginning spring things but the shapes are very much the same as always. The other day I saw Leonora de Rothschild walking with her husband and uncle on the boulevards. She looked pretty but very worn and pale, and was very nicely dressed. The best dresses wear *no* crinolines and look very curious. Leonora R. had scarcely any. I saw the Drouyn de Lhuys the other day walking in the Faubourg, she dresses *very* smartly.

"Oh I hope I may come home at the end of the quarter ! . . . I have just received your letter Doodoo. I cannot understand it at all. I received your letter last Friday week, and answered it Sunday. The holidays commence on the first of August, but sometimes are put off a few days, but never later than the tenth. I want very much to come back at the end of the quarter.

"I remain, dear children,

"Your affectionate sister,

"EMILIE ISA WILSON."

"Thank Mamma and Eliza and your darling self, Doodoo, a thousand times for their kind presents. I wish my letter had not been lost, for I had written full and pretty thanks for them."

My father was not likely to hear of my longing to come home without starting at once to fetch me. Notwithstanding the dissolution,—by the Opposition called a "Crime,"—the imminent elections when fierce combats were expected—when signals of war and rumours of wars were in the air, when panics were ringing alarms in the City,—notwithstanding all these agitating conditions, he arrived at 4 Rue de Valois du Roule on April 9 to escort me home. Three happy days in Paris followed. M. and Mme. Drouyn de Lhuys were at Amblainvilliers (as in the autumn before) and my father and I spent the first afternoon and evening there. A comical little episode is connected with that visit, which I can recall very vividly. On our entering the drawing-room we saw our smart little hostess fluttering in the centre of the room over four black figures of gentlemen, crawling on hands and knees on the carpet around her. The tall figure of M. Drouyn de Lhuys was moving nervously between the crouching figures, peering through his eye-glass as if looking for something on the floor. After being warmly welcomed these unusual proceedings were explained to us. The four gentlemen in the undignified position on the carpet were great magnates in the Paris *Jardin des Plantes*. They had brought specimens of a

new development of silkworm to show our host and hostess ; these could thrive on more varied vegetation than the ordinary species, and therefore could be cultivated more widely and made more generally useful to the silk market. To exhibit the little worms the lid was taken off the box in which they travelled. After investigating them it was suggested to take a walk in the garden. Most imprudently did their guardians not replace the lid, whereupon the little worms thought they would also take a walk—escaped from the box and were soon crawling over the floor—under sofas and up walls. Whether the search to recapture all of them was successful I cannot say.

The garden at Amblainvilliers was as charming in its spring garments as it had been in the previous autumn, and the atmosphere of this French country home as delightful. The four great botanists, when erect, and their anxieties appeased, proved very wise and interesting gentlemen.

The next day my father and I paid a visit to M. de Girardin's second wife, a lovely elegant lady in surroundings of the most recherché character. The last evening we dined at the Embassy, my first dinner out ; I enjoyed it greatly. Lady Cowley was charmingly kind to me, and after dinner, while my father was discussing with Lord Cowley Louis Napoleon's erratic escapades, beautiful Lady Sophia Wellesley—afterwards Lady Hardwick—and I sat in a corner and struck up a sudden friendship over mutual enthusiasms for certain singers performing at *Aux Italiens* where the more choice operatic performances in Paris were given.

CHAPTER XXVI

WAR DECLARED—ELECTION AT DEVONPORT

DIARY E. April 5 : " Papa, Zoë, Walter and I went to a party at Mrs. Gladstone's. Dissolution of Parliament announced. Great astonishment."

On arriving from Paris on April 12 my father was met with the news that there was to be opposition to himself and Sir Erskine Perry at Devonport, and he at once went down. It was on the 27th that the crucial point as to war was decided ; Sardinia had refused the Austrian ultimatum, the French Army had landed at Genoa and the alliance between France and Russia was ratified, consequent panic in the City.

Walter Bagehot writes to my sister from Lombard Street : ". . . People are in utter confusion about the war, and the funds are frightened, but no one knows anything. Russia seems to be pledged to France to some extent, but to what extent one cannot say."

Again on 28th : " There is immense alarm here as to war and the Alliance between France and Russia. In consequence the funds have been very *ill*, and business is much interrupted. I have never seen anything like it from political causes. It is like the panic the week we were engaged, only the class it affects is much more limited."

My father writes :

" ROYAL HOTEL,

" DEVONPORT,

" April 19, 1859. Tuesday.

" MY DEAR WALTER,

" Here I am in the midst of a sharp canvass with G^l. Peel's son and Farrand (the notorious) as opponents.

Erskine Perry and I came down last night and had a splendid meeting, crammed to the door, and as rapturous as we could wish. I have just finished a good day's canvass. There is no danger.

"Hutton will have to draw from all quarters this week and next. I cannot do anything for him. See what you can.

"I will try to run up on Saturday afternoon to spend the Sunday with you.

"Love to Eliza,

"Yours truly,

"JAMES WILSON."

"KENT HOUSE,

"April 20th, 1859.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"The writs are to issue on Saturday, so that the proclamation will be made on Monday, and Friday will be the first day on which the borough elections can be held.

"Nobody has been able to discover any good reason for this delay, which must increase expense in the contested places.

"The Lords' amendments on the Superannuation Bill were moved by Northcote. The debate on the Foreign question lasted till past seven on Monday, and it was wound up by some unimportant person who cleared the House. When I began there were not twenty members present, and I was soon counted out, which I thought not improbable, as the question was an awkward one for the Government.

"Your contest does not seem formidable but I am sorry that you are subjected to it.

"My expectation is that the Government will gain 10 to 15 seats. . . . There appears to be great indifference on both sides—neither desire of Reform on one side nor fear of it on the other. . . . The speeches on Monday were warlike in the House of Lords but Dizzy's was pacific. I still do not despair of peace. I hear that

the French have discovered that all their new cannons are made on a wrong principle.

“ Ever yours sincerely,
“ G. C. LEWIS.”

“ ROYAL HOTEL,
“ DEVONPORT,
“ April 25th, 1859.

“ MY DEAR BAGEHOT,

“ We have a very *hot* if not a *sharp* contest. I have no doubt we shall both be all right. But it is no joke to canvass 2,700 voters. Yesterday we went out at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9, and returned at 11 at night, being out all day in the rain. We have seen little of our opponents, though they occupy the adjoining room. Farrand is being found out in his true character, Peel is raw, young, and produces no effect. What the Tories talk of is to get Farrand in with me ; but I think fortunately there is no chance for them. What a colleague it would be to have !! They all say I shall be at the head of the poll, but I think Perry will be very near if not equal.

“ I am glad to see that the Radicals have refused to endanger the Liberals at Bristol. What do you hear of Bath ? I should like to help Phinn. The two Liberals are safe, *I think*, at Plymouth.

“ War, I take it, is now certain as I do not see how Sardinia can obey the summons of Austria without loss of reputation almost fatal to her ; and France cannot afford now to yield. Sardinia and France have, by refusing to listen to wise counsel, placed themselves in a position from which it is difficult to say whether they will lose most by going backward or forward. I regard the position of the Emperor N. and Cavour as being (personally) most precarious. If we have war, shall we not see a French Revolution before Christmas ? The chances will be great that the French will meet with reverses at first, and if so, looking to the unpopularity of the war, and the conviction that it has its origin in selfishness and fear, Louis N^a will be greatly endangered.

" I hope the London party arrived safely last night. We shall not be able to get away from here before Monday at the earliest ; probably not before Wednesday. But I must give you a hail on my way to town.

" This account must serve for the party at the Arches. We are busy with our books and lists.

" Yours truly,

" JAMES WILSON.

" Our polling will be on Saturday."

From Joseph Parkes my father received the following :

" ST. JAMES'S,

" 6 LITTLE RIDER ST.,

" 28 April, 1859.

" DEAR WILSON,

" Drop us a line on your prospects in D(evon)-port.

" General Election affairs are really going on better. In Scotland we may gain 1. In Ireland not exceed a loss of 4. When we are *out* of the Castle our Liberal interest in the Potato Island is worse attended to than usual. England and Wales are the Battlefields. Our managers here *I* think are rather too sanguine, and consider our *gross* loss will be not above 15 or 16. If they do not equal or exceed 25, I shall be well satisfied. The London Tories now drop their bragging, and only talk of 30 Conservative gains. Nearly half, whatever their gains, they will lose on Petitions, as in 1852-3. They say the War is an unlucky occurrence. Lord Malmesbury seems to have had the gout in his eyes for weeks past. Our Admiralty will have to watch French, Russian and Spanish Fleets !

" God send you and Perry a good deliverance. The Enemy do not brag of Devonport gain, but of Devon—and Chatham success.

" Yours truly,

" JOSEPH PARKES.

" P.S. 6 o'clock. The Funds closed at 89 $\frac{1}{4}$. The Russian Treaty is not credited, at least the offensive and

defensive part. Nor is the *M. Post* account of the Austrians crossing the Frontier believed. But the King of Sardinia can't recall his Proclamation. No *Turin* Telegram has been received in London up to this afternoon. The Poll for Lord Stanley in Marylebone is a great mistake. My daughter writes me from Rome that the Pope last week administered Absolution to King Bomba by the Electric Wire. We need not therefore in future put up our prayers against Sudden Death."

"TAXING MASTER PARKES' OFFICE,
"STAPLE INN, W.C.,
"7 May, 1859.

"DEAR WILSON,

"I could not answer your first note after your 'return for Devonport,' as I could not from its contents make out your whereabouts. Also I was very busy in Little Rider Street—at Hayter's Old Curiosity Shop.

"I was glad to see both seats in Devonport maintained; but we apprehended no loss.

"The last two days Counties' losses have rather deranged our previous calculations as to our ultimate gross loss. We cannot now estimate it, when the Irish Contests are over, at less than 25 or 26. Up to mid-week appearances were that 20, or a unit or two under, would have been the Tory gain.

"I have all along predicated from 25 to 30, not being so sanguine as Hayter. But he would have it that we should gain rather than lose *English* County Seats. I never saw that possibility; but I had hoped that we should have held our own. However you see a loss. I do not see that results mark any reaction in the Constituencies. Our Candidates in W. Kent were not the best against the Broad acres of that Division. Then, in S. Lancashire (our hardest hit) the intensive offensiveness of the League Trump and the Romans caused our defeat. The assumption of those dry bones of your Free Trade Agitators is abominable, and representing as they do now the extreme views of John Bright. Indeed

considering the alarm our latter friend occasioned by his early speeches, and that defection of the Romans we are much better out of the wood than we might have expected. The Catholics in England, except at York, almost as a body polled against our Liberal Candidates. But the final result, especially on the whole in the English Boroughs, is very satisfactory. It speaks well for the Middle Classes. And tho' we lose in quantity I incline with you to consider that we shall gain in quality. Our men will be more pronounced, and I think at first will be better minded to unite and stand by Party leaders. The Tories may number 300 or say 302, not more. Waverers aside, we ought to have a good 50 majority. The Petitions also, as after the first Derby Dissolution, must rid us of 6 or 8 ill-gotten Tory gains more than we may so lose. Thus results will not justify the Dissolution—to say nothing of the time so improperly selected for it. Then, *ad interim*, Lord Malmesbury has proved himself to have been both a Dupe and a Cat's Paw ; and been eminently unfortunate in his dealing with all Foreign Powers.

“ If united in the coming Session our liberal tactics ought unquestionably to be an immediate assault—to ‘ go in ’ ; and as in 1835 when our majority was much smaller.

“ Nevertheless, still continues our real weakness—viz. :

Palmell
Russell

“ I am told that there is a chance of cure. But I doubt the prescription. If their unpatriotic and scandalous rivalry continues there may be no change of Ministry this year. Or, Lord Derby may effect a reconstruction of his Administration, and then a Coalition may again break up for a while the real Liberal Party. Such a consequence of the past and present disunion of our Leaders would be fraught with political evil. Already

hooks are thrown out for this object ; and to hustle the Reform Question. My hope is that the state of that question will prevent the above possible evil. However inconvenient, and however questionable the advantages of any present further steps for amending our Representative System, a further reform is an unavoidable necessity ; and any measure to last any time must be *bonâ fide* and a concession by the Aristocracy. As you can't meet before next month I do not see how reasonably we can demand a new Bill this year ; unless one brought in before the end of the Session that the Country might have time to digest it in the Recess. But you may pin the Ministry to the principles of a measure, as your majority did on the division on Lord John's Resolutions. They may omit the subject of Reform altogether in the Royal Speech, or they may deal with it dishonestly. In such case you may beat them on an Amendment. Or, you might condemn the Dissolution as inopportune, and from the impossibility of a ministerial majority, unconstitutional. But *Cui Bono*, if our Leaders cannot forecast a united Liberal Administration. Besides I know men among us who will not unite to turn out the present office-holders so long as Lord Palmerston and Lord John are disunited. And how separately could either deal with a Reform Bill next year ? I scribble this at length for to-morrow I am going for the day to Bob Lowe's *rus in urbe*. If the first cannon ball takes off Louis Napoleon's head (most desirable) there may be hopes for Italy. It is an impudent burglary—his War. Had Lord J. been in office he might have postponed it.

“ Yours truly,

“ JOSEPH PARKES.”

At the time Joseph Parkes wrote these letters he was a Taxing-Master in Chancery. When he died in 1865 *The Times*, which had never showed him much favour, wrote : “ No man was better acquainted than he with the secret history of politics.” In his own life he personally kept always in the background.

His daughter, Miss Bessie Parkes, known well as one who worked earnestly in the middle of the nineteenth century with Dr. Garrett Anderson, Miss Emily Faithful and others aided by the warm concurrence of Dean Stanley, to extend the scope of employments for women, married M. Belloc and was the mother of Mr. Hilaire Belloc, who writes in the preface of a monograph lately written on his grandfather :¹ " He hated publicity ; his appetite was for achievement, and this he enjoyed beyond his own expectations." He used to declare that " In public life I shall always be till I am turfed." He was born in Warwick, spent eleven of the sixty-nine years of his life in Birmingham—the rest in London. The society he favoured most was that of Grote and Mrs. Grote, Hume, Francis Place—the Charing Cross tailor—Matthews McCulloch, and those of similar intellectual interests. He was much attached to George Eliot, who was his most constant guest. He was out and out for Reform, and wrote to Grote in 1831 : " I tell Mr. Tennyson and Lord Althorp it is no good shying at the word Revolution : they must make one, or the people will. . . . Good God ! What infatuated men are all aristocracies. How God blinds those he destroys ! " After Lord Grey passed his Reform Bill, Parkes was appointed Secretary of the Municipal Corporations. He built up a good business as a Parliamentary solicitor, and worked strenuously for the Liberal Party, becoming " Chief organiser of elections." The vigour of his campaigns roused much Tory complaint at what *The Times* called the " electioneering deceptions of the Parkesites. . . . He seemed to know every second person he met, and not only to know him, but to be on confidential terms with him and to have something particular to say to him." He knew my father well as a politician, and visited us at Claverton.

Diary E. April 30 : " Papa head of the poll at Devonport."

¹ *Joseph Parkes of Birmingham, and the Part he Played in Radical Reform Movement from 1825 to 1845.* By Jessie A. Buckley, M.A. (Methuen.)

May 2 : "Devonport Electors gave papa and Sir Erskine Perry a dinner."

3rd : "The Stonehouse Liberals gave papa and Sir Erskine Perry a dinner."

4th : "Papa arrived from Devonport. Ida von Mohl's wedding day."

29th : "Mr. Charles Villiers, M. de Rémusat, and Mr. Campbell dined here."

June 1 : "Papa, Julia and I to a musical party at Sir Alexander Cockburn's."

5th : "Julia, Sophie, Emmy and I to the Unitarian Chapel in Little Portland Street to hear Mr. Martineau."

July 31 : "Papa and I drove to the Old Water-colours, the British Institution, and Marlborough House."

(From Claverton.) "Returned home from Clevedon with the Huttons."

Aug. 30 : "Read 'Pride and Prejudice' aloud in the garden while Mrs. Hutton and Emmy sketched."

"THE ARCHES,
"CLEVEDON,
"May 6/59.

"MY DEAR LEWIS,

"I am here on my way back to London where I shall arrive to-morrow night.

"We may now rest assured that the Govt. will have a minority in the House of at least *fifty*, and that the opposition will be in a temper to deal summarily with them either on the address or on a motion of confidence, on which by the by they chose to place the appeal to the country. As things have turned out the dissolution has been both a blunder and a crime and people on all hands are beginning to feel it in that sense. The Ministers either allowed themselves to be woefully gulled and deceived or they deceived Parliament and the country. What now of the assurances Dizzy gave us so solemnly of the evacuation of the Italian States by the Austrian and French troops and a settlement of the whole

affair? I cannot but think the people of England will see that they have been unscrupulously trifled with and that there has been neither dignity nor foresight in our diplomacy. As things have turned out the acceptance of the Russian Congress, when Cornly was on his way back with a bitter proposal, is alone a grave indictment. I consider the Govt. doomed. Only one thing can save them and here we come to the old difficulty of divided leadership. There is growing up a strong feeling among the party, that some decided demonstration should take place to induce the two Lords to take some line that will enable the party to exert its proper influence upon public affairs. I do not know if any change has taken place since the dissolution; as our conflict within Devonport has excluded from our attention and interest almost everything else. But I have heard from many the observation that it is of no avail to make such struggles as we have done for seats, if all the influence of the Liberal party is to be frustrated by the impossibility of the only two who aspire to the position of leaders acting together.

"The composition of the House will no doubt be changed for the better. Few of the men who have been rejected could not be spared; or at least some of the worst are routed out. The Liberal party will come up in a firm and united form fresh from severe and bitter contests in which Govt. influences have been unsparingly used; it will be the best opposition we have seen for years; but what of all this if Lord Palmerston and Lord John are to spoil it all by their jealousies and differences?

"Have you read Gladstone's article on the Italian affairs in the *Quarterly*; I hear it highly spoken of but have not yet got either it or the *Edinh.* I have been looking at a book this morning just published on the Roman Question by Mr. About which seems worth reading. What a mass of duplicity and lying has marked our foreign relations the last two years. I think we should all feel humiliated when we think how England has been made to fall down and worship that Brummagem

Emperor the French have set up. Nevertheless I doubt if the course at last taken by Austria, though perfectly justifiable with their information, and the natural sympathy of England for Italy and Sardinia, will not turn the popular tide in favour of the latter and against Austria.

"We had a hard contest at Devonport, much more so than I expected ; but on the whole we had not much to complain of in our opponents. When all was over they had the frankness to come to us and own that we had beaten them by the fairest and most honourable means. The Govt. influences were used to the utmost.

"When do you return to town? Some effort should be made before P^t. meets to make our leaders as well united as the party will be. With best regards to Lady Theresa and the young ladies,

"Yours truly,

"JAMES WILSON.

"P.S. Perry and I spent last Sunday at Saltram. Lord Morley is looking much better. May go to town next week I believe.

"Mr. Clough of the Education department whom you must know in connexion with Oxford was here yesterday on his way to Mr. Froude near Bideford ; he seems an accomplished scholar. Greg too came last night and has just left on an official inspection of Custom Houses in Cornwall. He speaks of the bitter feeling among Liberals to the Govt."

Sir L. Moncrieff, Lord Advocate, writes :

Private

"EDINBURGH,

"May 19/59.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I was much obliged by your letter. All our friends here concur in the views you express. Indeed it is perfectly clear that if we are to succeed at all, it must be at once ; and in my opinion on a direct vote of want of confidence. The ordinary objections to such a course have no application at present—or rather they tell the

other way—no man will vote with us on Reform or Austria who will not vote a want of confidence. While many will vote against us some on both sides will come gallantly out at the sound of a trumpet. There is now no dissolution to fear, and the knowledge that we can do it will bring waverers to our side.

“One thing however we must be protected against. We are not going again to have our organisation demoralised by personal jealousies among the leaders, and I know feeling is growing every day which before long will insist on our being led for the party and not for the leaders. If the movement at the beginning of the Session fails from any element of this kind in any degree, I believe the men who have fought this battle will take the matter into their own hand, and will not soon forgive the offender. Such are the mutterings which reach me; but I have a strong persuasion that unless a good gallant fight be fought at first, our troop will be disgusted and disheartened, and disperse altogether.

“Lord Derby’s position, his men, and his measures are all so miserably weak, that nothing but disunion among us can save him.

“Yours ever very sincerely,

“J. MONCRIEFF.”

Again :

Private

“EDINBURGH,
“May 20th, 59.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“I was greatly obliged by your letter and made I think a beneficial use of it.

“It is impossible to tell how much good has been, and will be done, by the harmony you announce. As regards Lord John he may rely on it that during all these unfortunate misunderstandings he never lost the loyalty and affection of the party, even among those who most differed from his practical course in some matters. His position was difficult throughout, and it is difficult for him, altho’ not for you, to understand how keen a sense of

satisfaction the union will produce. My team from Scotland will be at their posts to a man. I have only one misgiving relative to my successor in Leith. I fear he held out hopes that he would not vote want of confidence against Lord Derby. I know the Tories say so. If you have any means of access to him entirely apart from me and Edinburgh Whigs, it might be well to sound him.

“ Ever yours most sincerely,

“ J. MONCRIEFF.

“ JAMES WILSON, Esq.”

Lord Granville writes :

“ 16, BRUTON STREET,

“ LONDON, W.

“ May 25/59.

“ MY DEAR WILSON,

“ I agree in all that you say—but it is by no means certain that any of us will have the opportunity of showing how a Liberal Government ought to be formed, and what manner of reform ought to be proposed.

“ The croakers are hard at work, and always produce a certain effect.

“ Lord Lyndhurst gives £20 to Charles Greville on condition that he receives a £1 a week as long as the Tory Govt. remain in.

“ Although the interview between Palmerston and J. Russell was very satisfactory and has left an agreeable impression on both their minds, there is a want of that definite personal engagement which may possibly be required by many members before the Division.

“ If we are to beat on this occasion, no adverse votes subsequently taken on measure will drive them from office.

“ On the other hand I think it is impossible to avoid accepting the issue upon which the Govt. appealed to the country.

“ Yours,

“ GRANVILLE.”

On returning to 12, Upper Belgrave St., my father wrote, June 12, 1859 :

“ DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,

“ One of the advantages of a bitterly contested election, is to bring to light any scandal that may be circulated about one, and of which one might otherwise have been entirely unconscious. Such turned out to be the case at Devonport at my election. An anonymous handbill was put up on the walls, which I then, for the first time, found was only an exaggerated form of private whisperings which had not reached me in any shape before. I immediately called a meeting and refuted them to the satisfaction of my friends and the dismay of my opponents and calumniators. There the matter would have ended as a mere election transaction. But since I returned to town, and only lately, I found in conversation with a friend to whom I named it that the whisperings at Devonport were only a repetition of what had run in a deep undercurrent in Town, and I have now reason to believe that it had reached a very high quarter, and accounted for a transaction which took place three years ago, which, though in itself a matter for indifference, yet gave me great pain, and which I have never ceased to feel. Will you be so kind as to cast your eye over the enclosed paper which I have sent for on purpose, and perhaps at some time or other, without unnecessarily intruding a private matter of this kind it may be in your power to put me right in that quarter. It is very improbable that I shall ever be disposed to accept, much less to seek, any favour of a public kind again, but one cannot but feel a natural wish to be put right and to stand well with those for whom both duty and inclination demand our deepest respect.

“ To save you trouble I have marked the portions of the speech that are essential. The second column and the top and bottom of the 3rd, is all that require to be read.

“ I hope you will excuse this trouble which I venture

to impose upon you and which I trust you will postpone till it is perfectly convenient to attend to.

“Yours,
“J. WILSON.”

In answer to his letter Earl Granville writes :

“BRUTON STREET,
“June 19th/59.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“I have read your speech excellent in substance and in tone.

“I remember hearing that you had as a young man failed in some commercial undertaking, but as I am always liable to this in my own business, I did not consider that it affected your character. As it is, your explanation is of the most satisfactory and triumphant character. I will take care to put the subject in its proper light before those to whom you allude.

“I hope a sentence at the end of your footnote will not be verified.

“Yours sincerely,
“GRANVILLE.”

That Lord Granville very successfully carried out this promise subsequent events amply proved.

My father sent the speech to others. In answer Sir C. Wood wrote :

“10 BELGRAVE SQUARE,
“29 July, 1859.

“DEAR SIR,

“I read the report of your Devonport speech with great pleasure.

“I was acquainted with the general purport of what you have told them, but you ought to be grateful to the anonymous placards who gave you such an opportunity of meeting triumphantly one of those malicious stories, which it is so difficult to catch in a tangible shape.

“Yours truly,
“CHARLES WOOD.”

Mr. Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton) writes :

“BELGRAVE SQUARE,
“June 13th, 1859.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“I return the report of your speech at Devonport. Your statement is quite clear, and I think it can produce no other impression than that of a belief that you acted in the affair to which you refer not only in a manner free from blame but most honestly and conscientiously.

“Always yours sincerely,
“J. V. LABOUCHERE.”

In Bagehot's “Memoir” of my father the following explanation is given of the calumny alluded to in the preceding letters :

“In 1836, or thereabouts, Mr. Wilson was unfortunately induced to commence a speculation in indigo, in conjunction with a gentleman in Scotland. It was expected that indigo would be scarce, and that the price would rise rapidly in consequence. Such would indeed appear to have been the case for a short period, since the first purchases in which Mr. Wilson took part yielded a profit. In consequence of this success, he was induced to try a larger venture,—indeed to embark most of his disposable capital. Unfortunately, the severe crisis of 1837 disturbed the usual course of all trades, and from its effect or from some other cause, indigo, instead of rising rapidly, fell rapidly. The effect on Mr. Wilson's position may be easily guessed. A very great capitalist would have been able to hold till better times, but he was not. ‘On 1st January,’ he said at Devonport, ‘in a given year, my capital was nearer £25,000 than £24,000, and it was all lost.’ Numerous stories were long circulated, most of them exaggerated, and the remainder wholly untrue, as to this period of misfortune in Mr. Wilson's life ; but the truth is very simple. As is usual in such cases, various arrangements were proposed and agreed to, were afterwards abandoned, and others sub-

stituted for them. A large bundle of papers carefully preserved by him records with the utmost accuracy the whole of the history. The final result will be best described in his own words at Devonport, which precisely correspond with the Balance Sheets and other documents still in existence. They are part of a speech in answer to a calumnious rumour that had been circulated in the town :

“ ‘ Now, how did I act on this occasion ? and this is what this placard has reference to. By my own means alone, I was enabled at once to satisfy in full all claims against me individually, and to provide for the early payment of one-half of the whole of the demands against the firm, consisting of myself and three partners. I was further enabled, or the firm was enabled, at once to assign property of sufficient value, as was supposed, to the full satisfaction of the whole of the remainder of the liabilities. An absolute agreement was made, and absolute release was given, to all the partners ; there was neither bankruptcy nor insolvency, neither was the business stopped for one day. The business was continued under the new firm, with which I remained a partner, and from which I ultimately retired in good circumstances. Some years afterwards it turned out that the foreign property which was assigned for the remaining half of the debts of the old firm, of which I was formerly a partner, proved insufficient to discharge them. The legal liability was, as you know, all gone ; the arrangement had been accepted—an arrangement calculated and believed by all parties to be sufficient to satisfy all claims in full ; but when the affairs of the whole concern were fully wound up, finding that the foreign property had not realised what was anticipated, I had it, I am glad to say, in my power to place at my banker’s, having ascertained the amount, a sum of money to discharge all the remainder of that debt, which I considered morally, though not legally due. This I did without any kind of solicitation—the thing was not named to me, and I am quite sure never were the gentlemen more taken

by surprise than when a friend of mine waited on them privately in London, and presented each of them with a cheque for the balance due to them. Now, perhaps, I have myself to blame for this anonymous attack. I probably brought it on myself, for I always felt that if this matter were made public, it might look like an act of ostentatious obtrusion on my part, and therefore, when I put aside the sum of money necessary for the purpose, I made a request, in the letter I wrote to my bankers, desiring them as an especial favour, that they would instruct their clerks to mention the matter to no one ; and in order that it should be perfectly private, I employed a personal friend of my own in the city of London, in whose care I placed the whole of the cheques, to wait on those gentlemen and present each of them with a cheque, and I obtained from him a promise, and he from them, not to name the circumstances to any one. The secrecy thus enjoined was well preserved.'

"Many of the most intimate friends of Mr. Wilson, and his family also, were entirely unacquainted with what he had done, and learnt it only through the accidental medium of an electioneering speech. It may be added, too, that some of those who knew the circumstances, and who have watched Mr. Wilson's subsequent career, believe that at no part of his life did he show greater business ability, self-command, and energy, than at the crisis of his mercantile misfortunes.

"It is remarkable that the preface to Mr. Wilson's first pamphlet, on the 'Influence of the Corn Laws,' is dated 1st March, 1839, the precise time at which he was negotiating with his creditors for the proper arrangement of his affairs ; and to those who have had an opportunity of observing how completely pecuniary misfortune unnerves and unmans men—mercantile men, perhaps, more than any others—it will not seem unworthy of remark that a careful pamphlet with elaborate figures, instinct in every line with vigour and energy, should emanate from a man struggling with extreme pecuniary calamity, and daily harassed with the painful details of it."

My father had an unusually sensitive nature, though his reserve and his shrinking from any display of feeling made this little recognised by those who were not very intimate with him. He was not a man of the world in the sense that he could ever view any question requiring consideration from a superficial point of view. I remember one incident which he recounted to us on his return from the Treasury the day when it occurred, which very much affected him.

A very wealthy gentleman with whom our family was acquainted had called upon him : after some talk about general matters he came to the point of his visit,—namely, if my father would be so good as to obtain for him a peerage, my father would find £20,000 at his bankers. Amazed, we asked my father what he had said. “*Said!* What was there to be said?—*nothing*. I got up—opened the door and bowed Mr. — out.” Keenly did he feel the insult. Doubtless many Government officials would have resented such a barefaced bribe being offered them, but I doubt whether many would have experienced the actual pain my father felt at the suggestion of the responsibility of patronage being thus dishonoured.

The delinquent evidently made *amende honorable*, and my father was the last to retain any personal grudge long against anyone,—so his name is found in the Diaries among those who dined in Hertford Street after the painful incident occurred.

11th : “The Division on the want of confidence in Government. 13 against Government. Lord Granville sent for by the Queen to form a Government, but Lord John Russell would not serve under him.”

“MY DEAR LEWIS,

“Many thanks for your note and your kind attention to my business.

“I do not upon reflection see how it will be possible for L^d Derby to undertake to form a G^t. There are two questions which he must put to himself.

" 1. What is my position with the present H. of Commons? Answer—Beaten by a large majority on the first trial of strength.

" 2. Is there anything to justify a dissolution of a P^t a year old, and if I dissolve what chance is there of mending my position?—To both we must answer *None*. How then can he undertake the G^t?

" Then Lord John: He might get Graham and others you know to join; but where is the rank and file? Nowhere as against L^d Palmerston. I own therefore that I see no solution except L^d P. remaining after those two attempts have failed. I put out of question all the other schemes and speculations of combinations as impracticable. I shall be at the Treasury by 12 to-morrow.

" Yours truly,

" JAMES WILSON."

12th: " Mr. and Mrs. Grant Duff, and Mr. Greg dined here."

15th: " Papa went to Lord Palmerston and declined to return to the Treasury."

17th: " Papa had the choice of the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade and the Board of Works offered to him by Lord Palmerston."

June 18: " Papa accepted Vice-Presidency of Board of Trade¹ and went to Windsor to kiss hands on being made Privy Councillor. I went home."

25th: " Papa went to Devonport for re-election on taking office. No contest."

28th: " Papa arrived from Devonport. We talked India all the evening."

July 16: " Went to Claverton."

22nd: " Walter dined at the House of Commons with papa and Sir George Cornwall Lewis."

27th: " Papa arrived. Sir Charles Wood had offered him Financial Membership of the Supreme Council at Calcutta, and given him till Monday to decide. He came to discuss it with us."

¹ The Right Hon. James Wilson sworn of H.M. Privy Council, June 18, 1859.

31st : "Papa wrote accepting the offer."

August 3 : "Sophie and William's wedding day."

27th : "Papa, Mr. Greg, and Mr. Dorien (late senior member of Council at Calcutta) came. Sir Arthur Buller and his son Charles aged 13, from Devonport, and Mr. Campbell came."

31st : "Papa went to Sheffield to attend the Master Cutlers' Public Dinner, and made a speech on India."

Bagehot writes to my sister respecting my father's objection to returning to the Treasury :

"I think he is quite right to make a great *favour* of going back to the Treasury and to be made a Privy Councillor, and only to do it as a temporary measure—if he does it at all. I would certainly take the Vice-Presidentship of the Board of Trade as Cobden won't hold the Presidentship long even if he takes it."

CHAPTER XXVII

ACCEPTS APPOINTMENT AS CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER
IN THE SUPREME COUNCIL—CALCUTTA

DIARY J. 1859. Mar. 20 : "Dinner party. Mr. Kinglake, Mr. Grant Duff, M. Katchenouski, Mr. Lean, Mr. Russell, Mr. Fitzgerald."

4th : "A dissolution announced in the House."

12th : "Papa and Emmy arrived at 11 P.M."

13th : "Papa and Tilly to Lady Palmerston's."

14th : "Mamma, Zeno and Sophie to Drawing Room. The latter two presented."

16th : "Papa heard of opposition at Devonport."

May 3 : "Returned home from Wimbledon. Read the Devonport paper with the Election Speeches."

17th : "Pips and I to the Academy 9.30-1. I having Ruskin's Notes."

19th : "Emmy and I to the Academy 10-11.30."

June 2 : "Our ball. Musicians failed. Did not get any till 12.30. Finished with Cotillion, broke up at 4."

14th : "Papa had a letter from Lord Palmerston."

17th : "Report in the *Times* about Papa's going to India."

18th : Papa went to Windsor to be sworn in as Privy Councillor on his appointment to be Vice-President of the Board of Trade."

July 5 : "Prince Frederick of Holstein called."

9th : "Papa and Mamma dined at the Grant Duffs', and I went with them to Lady Palmerston's."

17th : "Dinner-party. Madame Mohl, Messrs. Grant Duff and Grattan."

18th : " Budget Night."

20th : " Went to Claverton."

27th : " Papa arrived and all sat on the lawn talking of the Indian place which had been offered to him."

28th : " Papa returned to London. Mr. Hutton sent £9 10. 0. for Eliza's work."

Aug. 3 : " Sophie's wedding day. William photographed us before breakfast, and then we all played rounders. 37 to breakfast."

6th : " Emma Thorpe, Tilly and Emmy poorly. Had a fire in our room and played battledore and shuttlecock."

15th : " Arranged about India all day."

27th : " Read 'Adam Bede' to Emmy, and practised with her. Went nutting."

Sept. 25 : " Read *Economist* and Papa's speech."

21st : " Emmy and I walked to the church and to Prinney's grave" (the dear King Charles friend who was stolen three times !).

Oct. 13 : " Deputations from Sheerness and Chatham with inkstand and silver vase."

The following letters refer to the all-important question as to whether my father should accept the offer made him by Sir Ch. Wood to go to India.

Private and Confidential

" 12, UPPER BELGRAVE STREET.

" 11th July, 1859.

" MY DEAR SIR CHARLES WOOD,

" A week ago you asked me to consider whether I would be willing to go to India, should you decide upon asking me to do so, in order to undertake a Reform of their Financial System. You may well understand that it is very difficult to come to any precise decision upon so important a subject, a proposal so uncertain and conditional.

" All that I can say is, that while I have every motive to remain as I am, in a position in which I have at command everything in life I could desire, with a safe seat in Parliament as long as I desire to occupy it, with the

enjoyment of what I regard as the best society in London, because the most intelligent and intellectual, and in the midst of a public political career with which I have every reason to be in every way highly satisfied, all of which *and much more* [the *much more* was having to part with three of his children and Walter Bagehot, who had become as his own son] must be suddenly torn to pieces and abandoned if I accepted such a service. Still if it were presented to me under circumstances which made it assume the character of a public duty, I would be prepared to give it a favourable consideration, and would not lightly allow personal sacrifices, however great, to stand in the way of my undertaking it. I fear I could give no more explicit answer to your question unless I had to consider and decide upon many delicate points with a distinct and practical object before me.

“When you mooted the subject the other day in conversation, I then said that at least your doing so made me feel justified in pointing out some of the fatal defects in the Indian System of Finance of which I first became aware when at the India Bd. and which I pointed to at the time, but which like all other reforms become possible only when an emergency arises. Such an emergency has now arisen, and reforms and changes are now possible that have not been before in our day, and could not be now if present difficulties should become even partially glozed over. I send you a Mem^m which I have drawn up to-day explaining my observations more fully. I have no copy of it and I shall be glad to have it returned. I will furnish you with a copy if you wish it,—as I may put it confidentially. If you wish it, you may show it to Lord Stanley.

“I observe by the public papers that there is an attempt at Calcutta to sink official salaries. I hope you will not fall into that scheme at present, as it might interfere with some larger system of Income or similar tax, which being applied equally to Officials and Merchants and others would in effect be a Reduction of Salaries. You could not cut them both ways. If I were you I

would avoid little trifling measures like this, till I had determined upon some general and more extensive policy, in which such petty plans might only embarrass you.

“ Believe me,

“ Yours,

“ JAMES WILSON.”

“ HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ July 21, 1859.

“ MY DEAR ELIZA,

“ Sir Charles Wood has to-night, with the consent of Lord Palmerston, offered me the vacant place in the Council in India to be, as he termed, Chancellor of the Exchequer for India. I have taken till Monday next to give him an answer. I think it very likely that I shall go down to Claverton to-morrow night and stay over Wednesday to discuss the matter with you and the Family, and especially as Walter will be there. I will also endeavour to see some people here to-morrow.

“ I intend to see Sir Ch. Wood to-morrow upon many points of detail.”

Private

“ HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ July 26, 1859.

“ MY DEAR ELIZA,

“ There is a Bill coming on to-night for which I must be present. While I write it is uncertain if there will be a House. If not I shall go down by the 8 o'clock train to-night ; but if there is a House I must wait and will run down in that case by the Express to-morrow. If Walter could possibly remain for the day or could return from Bristol early by the middle of the day it would be an advantage.

“ I want *very particularly* to talk with him.

“ If he is obliged to go to Bristol he might get back early in the afternoon.

“ Your affectionate,

“ JAMES.”

Walter Bagehot was at first doubtful as to whether it was a wise step for my father to accept the post. But as he wrote in the "Memoir," some of those who knew him best believed that he only wanted an adequate opportunity to show that beyond the powers of an administrator and financier, he had the higher qualities of a statesman, and it was the feeling that he would have such an opportunity which reconciled them to his departure for India. "*We* at least believe that he had a great sagacity and a great equanimity, which might have been fitly exercised on the very greatest affairs."

"HOUSE OF COMMONS,

"July 29, 1859.

"MY DEAR ELIZA,

"I will try to go down by the 2 o'clock train. If not by the Express. There is nothing definitely settled, but I see that I shall accept the Office and that Sir C. Wood will announce it with his Indian Budget on Monday."

Diary E. July 31: "Papa wrote accepting the offer."

The die was cast. Our home was to be uprooted, so broken up as never to be pieced together again as it had been—no, never, whatever happened! That was the outstanding fact, yet, during those last ten weeks which elapsed during the process of demolition, how smothered that fact appeared to be with smaller matters, "the things that had to be seen to"; the preparation for India—and India's climate. It was a bewildering time, and bewildered are the recollections I retain of it. The fact was so momentous, and yet so many unmomentous questions filled the days. The more prominent was this because my father could not be with us. After being present at my sister Sophie's wedding to William Halsey on August 3, he returned to London, as the House was still sitting.

On receipt of the letter accepting, Sir Charles Wood wrote :

“ BELGRAVE SQUARE,
“ *August 2nd, 1859.*

“ DEAR MR. WILSON,

“ I have not yet got my box from the Queen—but probably I shall get it to-day—I could not write to you yesterday. Indeed I only received your letter just as I was going down to the House of Commons to make my statement.

“ We have much to talk about when you come up.

“ Yours truly,
“ C. W.”

“ *August 21st, 1859.*

“ DEAR WILSON,

“ I suspect that we have been waiting for each other—you for me and I for you. I expected to hear from you, as I thought you were out of town. I was in town every day last week but Monday and Saturday, and I shall be up again to-morrow (Monday) night and remain all the week.

“ I think the most convenient thing would be that you should come to Belgrave Square some evening after dinner, which would neither interrupt your work nor mine, and at any rate we could talk over much preliminary matter.

“ Send me word to Belgrave Square when you come, or send a note across to Cannon Row and they can telegraph to the India Office.

“ Yours,
“ C. W.”

“ 10, BELGRAVE SQUARE,
“ *August 24, 1859.*

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I arrived here on Monday night and was greeted by an order down to Osborne which I must obey

to-day at 3 o'clock, and I shall be back on Friday. If you are in town I could see you on Friday evening.

"Yours truly,
"C. WOOD.

"Let me know by a note to Osborne.

"THE RT. HONBLE. JAMES WILSON."

During this visit to Osborne the Queen signed the document giving my father the Indian Appointment of Member of the Supreme Council.

Sir Charles Wood's family was at his country home, Hickleton near Doncaster, my father's family was at Claverton, so both their London houses were partly closed.

"OSBORNE,
August 25, 1859.

"DEAR MR. WILSON,

"I shall come up from the India House, dine at a club and come home as soon as I have dined. If you are a Member of the Athenæum or Reform Club, as I suppose you are, I would dine at either with you, and we might go on to my house afterwards. If that would suit you I would meet you at the Athenæum or Reform Club say at 7.30 Send a note for me to Cannon Row and desire them to send it to Leadenhall Street.

"Yours truly,
"C. WOOD.

"THE RT. HON. J. WILSON.

"If this won't do—call at my house in Belgrave Square at 9."

Sir C. Wood writes from Hickleton :

"*Sep. 5, 1859.*

"DEAR MR. WILSON,

"I have ordered your old room for you. I was in favour of a local army, and am not converted from it, but I am a good deal shaken by recent occurrences. I don't think much of the men, but the officers of the

Bengal army, European and Native, have shown themselves very incompetent ; and I much doubt whether they will not hereafter be so looked down upon by the Queen's Officers that the jealousies and heartburnings to the detriment of the service will be endless.

" It is mischievous already.

" Yours truly,
" C. WOOD."

" INDIA OFFICE,
" Sept. 19, 1859.

" DEAR MR. WILSON,

" You and I have both been moving about so much that I have sometimes received your letters later than I should have done—and sometimes I have not known where to catch you. I shall be in town Thursday again to stay."

" *Saturday morning.*

" DEAR WILSON,

" I send the papers (which I have not read) on which Arbuthnot's paper is written, and his paper.

" I am generally for a Government paper convertible at certain large places and receivable in revenue, prohibiting all other notes.

" I *doubt* going below a 10 rupee note.

" I would, as soon as I could, make the Gold sovereign the legal money and standard in India. Their trade is principally with England and Australia, in both of which places it is so. Rupees at present are slightly under 2/- in value, of course after gold had been made the only standard the rupee must be kept under the value of the 1/10th of the sovereign.

" Yours truly,
" C. W."

" HOUSE OF COMMONS,
" August 5, 1859.

" MY DEAR ELIZA,

" It is doubtful at what time I shall get down to-morrow. You will have seen the announcement in the *Times* of my appointment and also of Sophy's marriage."

“BOARD OF TRADE,
“Aug. 10, 1859.

“MY DEAR ELIZA,

“I dined alone with the Clays¹ last night and I afterwards went to Lady Granville’s, where unexpectedly I found a very grand party : the Grand Duchess of Russia, the sister of the Emperor and suite, the Duke of Cambridge, Lord and Lady Palmerston, Lady Shelburne, the Apponyis, etc.

“I was congratulated by everybody about India and the Duke of Cambridge in particular with whom I had a long talk in a corner, upon the state of the Army, etc. : I am to see him before I go, and discuss the matter fully.

“To-day we go to the Fish Dinner and to Lady Palmerston’s afterwards.

“Sir John Lawrence leaves London for Ireland on Monday and will not be able to go to Claverton. I am to see him on Saturday.

“I am to accept the Chiltern Hundreds to-morrow.

“I have a great many congratulations on my appointment and great things are expected from me, which is rather a misfortune.”

“12, UPPER BELGRAVE ST.,
“11 August, 1859.

“MY DEAR SIR CHARLES WOOD,

“After our numerous conversations and especially that of last night, I write to say that I definitely accept the offer you have made for my proceeding to India as a member of the Supreme Council and as the head of a new department to be formed, consolidating the present Revenue and Financial Departments as far as is practicable, and corresponding as nearly as possible with our Treasury Department at home.

¹ Sir William, Lady Clay and many daughters and three sons were our neighbours and intimate friends for seventeen years in Hertford Street—and subsequently were again near us when they moved to Eaton Square. Sir William Clay told us that as a youth he shot snipes over the swamp on which Eaton Square was built as time went on.

“The duties and position of a Member of Council are well defined by habit and precedent. As to the position and duties of the New Office to be created I accept your general definition of them as sufficiently explicit, that I shall stand in the same relation to the Governor General and Council, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer at home does to the Cabinet.

“Believe me,
 “My dear Sir Charles,
 “Yours truly,
 “J. W.”

My father was anxious to consult the best authorities on India respecting questions that would come within his scope in the task before him, and wrote to Lord Dalhousie and Sir John Lawrence, receiving the following answers.

Lord Dalhousie writes :

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have this moment received your note.

“I should be most happy to receive you and to have an opportunity of offering to you my best wishes for your success in that most important and difficult task which you have undertaken. . . .

“Wishing you above all things *health*,

“I remain, dear Sir,

“Very truly yours,

“DALHOUSIE.”

Sir John Lawrence writes :

“*9th of August, 1859.*

“. . . I hope to meet you on Thursday at Mr. Lowe's, and if you remain in Town for Friday at any place you may appoint. It will afford me much pleasure to be of any use, however small, to you.

“Yours sincerely,

“JOHN LAWRENCE.

“RIGHT HONBLE. JAMES WILSON, etc. etc.”

After the prorogation my father began to collect threads which would help him in weaving his scheme

whereby to achieve the colossal task he had undertaken. His "business imagination" was in full play, for, from the moment he accepted the office, his mind was absorbed in the problem of how to fulfil it. He visited several centres of industries and spent some days in his native town Hawick, where he was admitted and created an honorary Burgess of the Borough of Hawick.

"At Hawick the twenty-seventh day of

"September Eighteen Hundred and fifty-nine.

"The which day the Right Honorable James Wilson late Member of Parliament for Devonport, a native of Hawick, was in respect of the important aid rendered by him to his Country in improving our Finances and developing that system of Free Trade at home and Commercial Extension Abroad, which have added so largely to the resources of the Nation, services which have secured to him an Appointment as Head of the Revenue Department of our Empire in India whither he is about immediately to proceed accompanied by the best wishes of his fellow Townsmen . . . admitted and created an Honorary Burgess of the Burgh of Hawick.

"TOWN CLERK."

My father found it necessary to go to Ireland to discuss with Mr. Cardwell, then Secretary, the organisation of the Constabulary there.

Mr. Cardwell, Secretary for Ireland, wrote :

"DUBLIN,

"*Thursday.* 1859.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I am obliged to be at the Curragh to-morrow.

"But Sir Henry Bowring will dine at my house to-morrow night ; and then we can arrange for the Inspection of the Constabulary on Saturday morning.

"Dinner is at 7½ and you will find your rooms whenever you like to go to the Lodge.

"Yours truly,

"EDWARD CARDWELL."

" 12 UPPER BELGRAVE ST.,

" Oct. 6th, 1859.

" MY DEAR ELIZA,

" I arrived this morning at 6 o'clock and got three hours of bed. I am going to the India House to an appointment with Sir Ch. Wood, and then I hope to get off by the 4.50 train to Devonport. You may look for me certain on Saturday. My brother George says he sent you a Hawick paper. The *Times* of yesterday and to-day has my two speeches at Manchester. It required some care to say anything that would pass on such occasions without trending on those questions upon which I could not speak freely. I shall be heartily glad to get to Claverton. The Manchester visit was very agreeable. My sisters Katherine and Isabella met me there, and I passed an hour with them yesterday.

" All important arrangements are progressing in good order."

" MANCHESTER,

" 5 Oct. 1859.

" MY DEAR ELIZA,

" I have enjoyed my visits to this place and Liverpool very much and have profited a great deal by intercourse with those connected with India. On Monday night I dined with the Mayor and about fifty gentlemen in Liverpool. We had an agreeable and useful evening. Then we had a meeting of the Cotton Supply Association yesterday, and the leading members dined here last night : to-day a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, the leading members of which dine here to-day. At 11 o'clock I leave for London."

" BOARD OF TRADE,

" Aug. 26, 1859.

" MY DEAR ELIZA,

" Mr. Dorien late Permanent Secretary in Calcutta comes to us to-morrow till Monday. Mr. Greg also wishes to go down for Sunday. We shall therefore have plenty of Indian advice between Sir A. Buller and Mr. Dorien."

To Lord Canning my father writes:

“BOARD OF TRADE,

“25 Aug. 1859.

“MY DEAR LORD CANNING,

“Sir Charles Wood has already apprised you that I had consented to accept the very responsible appointment under your Government of Member of Council and the head of an executive department which will combine as far as they can be combined the two separate departments of Revenue and Finance. For the sake of brevity the functions of this new office which will be thus created have been described as being analogous to those which the Chancellor of the Exchequer at home exercises in his relation to the Cabinet and the Govt. of which he is a Member. And the new consolidated department in India will bear as near an analogy as the difference of circumstances will permit to the Constitution of our Treasury Department here. This is the general outline upon which I have accepted the appointment, but Sir Chas. Wood is to have a despatch prepared in which a more precise description of the views and intentions of the Govt. will no doubt be given.

“Believe me, my dear Lord, that I feel fully sensible of the hardihood, I may almost say the presumption of my undertaking the task allotted to me;—although I hope that the great sacrifices I have made in abandoning a position here at once so agreeable and so satisfactory to myself in order to undertake the arduous and responsible duties of my new office may be accepted as the best proof that I have done so on public and not on private grounds. And permit me to say that it was no unimportant consideration in the decision at which I arrived, that I should have to act under a Governor-General with whom it had already been my good fortune to be in official relations at home, and for whom I had then so much reason to form a sincere respect. I little thought when you took leave of me at the Treasury that our next meeting would be in Calcutta in another official capacity.

“The subjects of Indian Finance and Revenue are

not altogether new to me. When I was at the India Bd. from 1848 to 1852 those two departments were under my special care ; and it was then that I was almost alone instrumental in beginning the Railway System. At that time I prepared a paper upon what appeared to me to be the great defects in the existing system, many of them arising from the division of responsibility between the two departments of Finance and Revenue. With such a division at home our affairs could not be kept straight for a year. But though I have paid some considerable attention to these matters from time to time, I am fully conscious how much I must have to learn, and with what caution the best and most approved principles must be applied under such different circumstances, as those which exist at home and in India.

“ From your Lordship I know I shall receive every support which I can desire. But where I feel I shall have most difficulty is among the existing officials who may not unnaturally view me in the light of an intruder to supersede them. It is against any feeling of this kind that I am most anxious to take every possible precaution. In this respect there is probably a great advantage that the office will be an entirely new one ; and it will certainly be my anxious endeavour, as indeed it will be my interest, to give to and obtain from the heads of the two departments that confidence and good feeling which will be necessary for our common success. If your Lordship has any opportunity of awakening this sentiment in their minds before I arrive, you will confer a great favour upon me. Where anything is wrong and to be improved, I have no doubt it is in the system rather than in those that administer it. When we look to the great changes which have taken place in our own financial and revenue departments at home even since the time when I first took office in the Treasury, they are hardly to be recognised in many respects as the same thing. And if we go back to 1841 when Sir Robt. Peel took the Govt. we may say that our whole system has undergone a complete revolution, both in principle and in practice. And if I have any peculiar aptitude for the office which I

am to fill, it is that during the whole of that period I have necessarily been a close observer of, if not an actual participator in, the changes which have taken place. But if the English system of Finance and Revenue as Sir Robert Peel found it in 1841, after all the efforts of men like Huskisson and others through so many years had been exhausted to improve it, was so imperfect, it need not certainly create surprise if our Indian System is capable of some improvement; much less need that fact infer any blame upon those actually at the moment in charge of it. I shall be very glad if this feeling can be infused into the minds of those with whom I have to act.

"I met Lord Sydney at Lady Granville's the other night and he said that he had just heard from you that it was probable you would take a long journey up the country in the cool season, and I fear in that case that I may arrive in Calcutta in your absence. I go with the Mail of the 20th Oct: Mrs. Wilson and two of my daughters will accompany me. We shall arrive I suppose early in Decr.

"Will you be good enough to write to me to meet me at some point on the way out, where I shall be sure to receive it leaving here the 20th Oct. I should suppose Aden or Point de Galle, and inform me about your plans for the winter ; and with any observations which will be useful to me on my arrival at Calcutta in the event of your being absent.

"Believe me,

"My dear Lord Canning,

"Yours truly,

"J. W."

Appointed Fourth Ordinary Member of the Council
of the Governor General of India, 18 August, 1859.

"VICTORIA R.

"VICTORIA by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith.

"To Our Right Trusty and well beloved Councillor James Wilson. Greeting.

"*Whereas* by an Act passed in the Session of Parliament holden in the twenty first and twenty second years of Our Reign intituled 'An Act for the better Government of India' it is enacted that the appointments of Governor General of India and Governors of Presidencies in India shall be made by Her Majesty by Warrant under Her Royal Sign Manual *And whereas* a Vacancy has occurred in the Office of Fourth Ordinary Member of the said Council by reason of the resignation of Barnes Peacock Esquire.

"*Now know* that *We* reposing great trust and confidence in your zeal discretion and integrity have appointed and do by these presents appoint you in the room of the said Barnes Peacock to be the Fourth Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor General of India.

"Given at our Court at Osborne this 18th day of August in the twenty third year of our Reign.

"By Her Majesty's Command.

"CHARLES WOOD."

Lady Canning to her mother, Lady Stuart de Rothesay: "Calcutta, September 22. Mr. Wilson does not arrive till October. Canning has invited him to come up and join the camp as his guest for a little time, and has offered to lend a wing of this house to his family."

Sir George Cornwall Lewis writes:

"KENT HOUSE,

"Sept. 4th, 1859.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"If you should feel inclined for some Welsh air, I should be very happy if you would come down to Harpton for any part of this week, from Monday till Saturday. (The journey takes from 9.30 to about 5 o'clock). . . .

"Ever yours sincerely,

"G. C. LEWIS.

"I return to-morrow morning."



CHARLES JOHN VISCOUNT CANNING

From the Bust by Noble.

From "The Story of Two Noble Lives."

"HARPTON,
"Sep. 7th, 1859.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I shall be very happy if you can come here on Friday or Saturday next. I am aware now that all your time must be in demand and I will only say that I shall be very glad to see you if you can spare time for the journey. . . .

"Yours ever sincerely,
"G. C. LEWIS."

Lord Radnor writes :

"October 16, 1859.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"Thank you for your letter received this morning, from which I am concerned to learn that you are unable to accomplish the visit which you had led me to expect from you here. It does not surprise me in truth to hear that you are overwhelmed with business, but it would have given me great pleasure to wish you God speed by word of mouth, before you had set out on your very onerous duty. I cannot expect to live to see or hear of the successful issue—but I cannot but hope that there will be a successful issue, and I feel sure that if anyone can bring it about you are the person to do it. My best wishes attend your cause and your person.

"Does Mrs. Wilson go with you? I beg my compliments to her and your daughters."

"COLESHILL HOUSE,
"HIGHWORTH,
"Oct. 16th/59.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"I shall be sorry not to 'hae a grip o' your hand' before you go—but I fear now it is hopeless. No one here at home you may feel sure will take a deeper interest in your success than My Lord and myself. I feel sure that if energy and ability can overcome the difficulties you will have to encounter, the result will be quite satisfactory to the public and yourself. I have had sometimes, unknown to you, to defend you from

detractors in your career at home—you will have to expect detraction when you are away; but you will leave friends behind you quite ready to do battle for you and able, I trust, to secure you scope enough to justify by your career in India their expectations and reliance upon you. . . . With sincere regards, and best wishes,

“I am,

“Yours very truly,

“E. P. BOUVERIE.”

A buoyancy—a radiancy one might say, in my father's nature defied and conquered many difficulties, and this power to achieve, added to his noted abilities, inspired those who knew him best with a confidence in his successfully overcoming the difficulties of the colossal task he had undertaken. This power, nevertheless, was one which excited envy in the envious and aroused jealousy in the jealous, leading such as were envious and jealous and less successful in their lives, to catch at any calumny such as my father had been exposed to at his elections, and spread it abroad. The envious and the jealous are known as not happy mortals, for such feelings sap the joyousness out of life. My father was happy, and this, besides his success, was a cause of envy. He was happy in his work, happy in his home, happy notably in the power of helping others which his position gave him.

Lord Lansdowne writes :

“Bowood,

“Oct. 21st, 1859.

“DEAR WILSON,

“I fully share the regret you are so kind as to express that I have not had the opportunity of even shaking hands with you before your departure. Most sincerely do I wish that all prosperity may attend you both in a private and public point of view. As to the latter, tho' I occasionally read about it, I feel too little versed in the history of Indian finance, to be able to form any confident opinion on the subject, but I shall look at that, as well as every other matter, connected with the

problem of our future Indian Government with deep interest, and am convinced that whatever the difficulties may be attaching it, if any person can resolve them, you will, and was therefore glad on every account you accepted the appointment.

"You and your Westbury friends may rely upon my putting the gentleman you so strongly recommend into the Commission before the end of the year.

"I remain,

"Very truly yours,
"LANSDOWNE."

My father would have much desired to have paid such last visits to Lord Radnor and to Sir G. Cornwall Lewis, but very few days remained before the start—and these he felt must be spent quietly in his own home. The impress stamped on his nature by the serious religious teaching of his boyhood in the Quaker home had never been effaced, though the life he had lived in the great social and political world of his day, and the intense zeal with which he worked at whatsoever his hand found to do, made it apparently latent at times. But having now acquired all the information in England wherewith to equip himself for his great task,—in the comparative relaxation of those last days, a solemn note was struck.

His early friend George Moffatt wrote to him during those days : ¹

"NORBURY PARK,

"*Streatham*, 1859.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"I have sent herewith one of the *pets* of my plate closet—in the shape of a fine George II silver gilt vase, which most of those who have looked at my plate have attributed to Flaxman.

"I request its acceptance—with emotions in which *personal* regret at the occasion of its offer predominates—but it is right that you should go to the East, and I shall

¹ George Moffatt, member for Southampton, a great friend of Richard Cobden and an ardent Free Trader.

learn to acquiesce. Strange—that having been one of the earliest thinkers of the move, I should now probably regret it the most.

“I need scarcely allude to the motto which the vase bears

‘*Persevere*’

that has been heretofore the secret of your success and is not likely to be disregarded *now* when far weightier and more important matters are entrusted to your care—but I may say that I wish the Vase to be a constant ornament of your table or sideboard—

‘In Memoriam’

of a friendship which will not slacken or be shaken by the distance if one thinks of the Globe’s expanse. The French have a Proverb that ‘The absent are always in the wrong’—so far as I am concerned or have influence ‘the absent shall always be in the right.’

“Your affectionate Friend,

“GEORGE MOFFATT.”

Some members of the family of Kilvert, well known in Bath, lived at Claverton in 1859. In 1860 Mrs. Kilvert sent our family the following entry from her Diary. “Mr. A. called on his way to Mr. Duckworth’s seat, Orchardleigh. We had much interesting talk on the past, present and future state of India. He said he had had a very long night’s conference with our kind friend and neighbour, the Rt. Hon. James Wilson, when he had a public reception given him at Manchester this month, just previous to his embarkation for Dublin, whence he was so good as to write me a friendly note in acknowledgment for my brief ‘sketch’ of our mutual friend Mrs. Fry, which had followed him to the Castle of Dublin. Mr. A. said of Mr. Wilson, ‘he was one of the great-minded men of the day.’ Mr. Kilvert had ever admired his kind, simple, self-possessed manners when our neighbour at Claverton Manor. A very few days, *perhaps hours*, before he took his final leave of that beautiful home, he walked down Claverton Hill and

entered the vestibule steps. I heard the voice of a stranger talking to our servant. Mr. Kilvert, knowing his voice, instantly came forward and led him into the bow room. He cast his eyes on the walls with evident emotion, for there were the best engravings of his early and beloved friends, Mrs. Fry, Joseph John Gurney, and Sir Robert H. Inglis. Some deep chord was touched by these remembrances, rendered unspeakably dear by the wrench he was enduring in quitting his own native land. He told me the following circumstances : ‘ When I was at school Mr. J. Gurney gave me and several other boys a theme on three great attributes of God, *viz.* : the Omnipotence, the Omniscience, the Omnipresence, divided into the three subjects, and for the best paper he offered a prize, which I was happy enough to win.’ Mr. Wilson was touched by my intimate knowledge of Mrs. Fry, and said she had sent to him on the very first notice she had received of the calamity in her husband’s affairs. He repeated with admiration, ‘ I can never forget *her* ! ’ His conversation was friendly in the extreme to Mr. Kilvert. His approaching untried task in a far land called out our warmest feelings. His were deep, manly and solemn when we bade him adieu. His strength seemed derived from his devotion to the full development of the vast resources of India in her new position, and having long and thoroughly investigated what *could be known* of his task, he looked at her every interest. His persevering integrity and industry had raised him to high distinction. Without sons but blessed with all the charities of domestic life, surrounded by the refinements which wealth confers, he has only the great aim of doing to mankind an enduring service. He seems to have prepared his mind for conflicts in this untried field of labour. His late calm retreat must have been a refreshment to his mind, which knew but little rest by day or night. He crosses the ocean in a martyr’s faith. We shall watch with great anxiety his course : the result of his plans will be the work of time and the wisdom of his agents. Adelaide Sophie Kilvert.”

On the day my father left London he wrote to Sir G. Cornwall Lewis :

" 12, UPPER BELGRAVE ST.,

" Oct. 19, 1859.

" MY DEAR LEWIS,

" I have been on the look out for you for the last three or four days, but I fear I have now no chance of seeing you. I am off to Southampton in two hours. I had much to talk to you about but it would be impossible now to say what I wanted. If the sea is not too playful I may occupy some time on my passage in writing. I have learned a great deal about India the last two months. I have lived almost exclusively among ex-Indians of one kind or another and have heard all views. The difficulties do not diminish by better acquaintance. *Time, distance*, and divided authority, with the sacrificing consequences of procrastination and shirking responsibility and the tendency to get rid of difficulties by compromise or delays are fatal elements in the character of the G^t of India.

" The best man for India is he who will *act*, and trust for approval.

" My friend Bagehot has undertaken a sort of general superintendence of the *Economist* and Hutton remains Editor under him. Will you kindly allow Bagehot to call upon you occasionally ?

" With best regards to Lady Theresa, believe me,

" My dear Lewis,

" Always yours,

" JAMES WILSON."

During the last days Walter Bagehot was much with my father. On October 14, in a letter to my sister, he writes :

" Your husband is very tired. I sat up late last night with your father about his will which was a cheerful topic ! It is clear I must stay over Sunday, probably till they go."

The actual day of departure came. Diaries record

October 19, how we all left for Southampton—how friends and relations collected—how there were eighteen at dinner on the eve of the departure—how on October 20 all went to the dock at 11 A.M., and thence in a packet to the *Pera* lying out three miles. How all left the *Pera* at 2.30 and she sailed at once. Of all this my memory retains nothing ; the moment of actual parting with my father alone I retain clearly and vividly. In an outburst of affection for him I threw my arms round his neck and kissed him ; he did not respond, but stood quite still and looked beyond and away. A curious pained expression passed over his face, the look that proved the last I was ever to see. The thought perhaps that in a few weeks, half the world would be between him and his three children had struck his mind with painful vividness.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

VOYAGE OUT AND ARRIVAL IN CALCUTTA

"ON BOARD THE 'PERA' OFF LISBON,

"Oct. 24th, 59.

"MY DEAR LEWIS,

"In looking over my papers I find I have omitted to fulfil a promise I made to an old friend the agent of my property in Wiltshire. He is a man between 35 and 38, was a woollen manufacturer and retired on a small fortune to his own property near Westbury, but now wants some employment to fill up his time and employ an active mind and has set his heart upon the office of a Factory Sub-Inspector for which he is in every way, technical knowledge included, well qualified. He is an excellent man of business. The Sub-Inspector for the district in which he lives is a Mr. Kemp and is very old and I am told is fast failing. If a vacancy occurs there or elsewhere and if you have no one better to fill it I shall be glad if you will think of Mr. Thomas Richards, Clayclose near Westbury, Wilts. I can confidently recommend him as far as merits go. We have the most beautiful weather, a second summer clear as could be overhead, the sea like a mill-pond, steaming away at the rate of twelve miles an hour; and as far as I am concerned with the first sensation of leisure I have felt for many years; for though I have brought plenty of work with me there are six weeks on board of ship before me to do it in. We shall be well set up with healthful ammunition to sustain the attacks of an Indian climate. Any friend you have coming my way furnish him with a Bill of Lading duly consigning him to me. With best regards to Lady Theresa and all friends, believe me,

"Yours always truly,

"JAMES WILSON."

On board the *Pera* between Cape St. Vincent and Gibraltar my mother wrote :

" We are enjoying the finest air and weather imaginable this morning on deck sitting under an awning, quite well again. After you left us we all mustered at dinner, after which we disappeared till Saturday night though making some desperate efforts to get on deck to breathe the air which appeared like nectar. There are a hundred passengers on board, but being a party of six we are very independent ; we sit next the Captain, the food is plentiful and good, and all is as comfortable as it can be on board ship. The horses appear to do well [my father was taking two riding horses out with him to India]. One cow, sheep, geese, ducks and fowls live in store for us ! We have seen the coast of France, Spain and Portugal and are again seeing Spain. We have on board two missionaries going to Calcutta and then up the country. They had prayers and a sermon yesterday morning and are establishing family prayers every morning. The stewards form a band and play at 11 each morning, and there is all that can be done for comfort. The sea water baths are delightful. . . . I watched the boat till it was invisible. Frank Halsey left with the pilot in the middle of dinner. *All our woollen wraps have been required*, to-day is milder, 68, but we shall want them on deck at night. There has been the most beautiful Turner sunset—all red. I hope this may be sent from Gibraltar but there is some doubt. Dear love to Julia, Emilie and kindest regards to Walter."

Sir Henry Ward sent the following welcome to Ceylon, of which he was Governor :

Private

" QUEEN'S HOUSE,
" COLOMBO,
" Oct. 15, 1859.

" MY DEAR WILSON,

" As I hope soon to have the pleasure of meeting you at Galle, I shall say very little to you at Aden, where there is always a chance of letters missing.

"I have given directions for the Queen's House to be ready for you upon your arrival, so come on shore, at once, with your daughters, and let them make the most of this break in a tedious voyage. I fully hope, and expect, to be there to receive you. But I have been suffering so much from Jungle fever of late—the result of too much exposure, in exploring my dominions, that I do not speak of my own movements with quite as much confidence as I used to do. The will, certainly, shall not be wanting; and I shall take the Galle Coach for the 16th Nov^r in order to make sure of being in time for your steamer.

"I read your Sheffield Speech with great interest. It is odd that one of your last communications at home should have been with my old constituents, and one of your first interviews in the East with their quondam Representative.

"You have, indeed, undertaken a difficult task. But you are too prudent a man to have done so, without all necessary powers.

"Ever yours most sincerely,

"H. G. WARD."

"ON BOARD THE 'NEMESIS,'

"NEARING CEYLON,

"Nov. 15th, 1859.

"MY DEAR WALTER,

"1. I have received a letter by the Marseilles Mail from Lord Portman in which he says in relation to my application to place you in the Commission of the Peace, 'I shall have much pleasure in complying with your request at an early opportunity'—so that I hope we may consider that as settled.

"2. You will have seen in the papers the clumsy proceedings of the Govt. of India in relation to new Taxes. Nothing could be worse considered or more vacillating: and they have made such a jumble of the affair that I see nothing for it but withdrawing their Bill altogether and introducing a well considered and

equitable Income Tax applicable to all except the cultivators of the land who now pay Income Tax in another form. However, I shall decide upon nothing till I arrive : but this advantage at least has accrued from the discussions which have arisen in respect to the Licensing Bill, that it has committed most of the active spirits who get up and speak at public meetings in favour of an English Income Tax. Of course it will require a somewhat arbitrary machinery to work it with the Native population—but that they are accustomed to, and there is as little sympathy for the great capitalist Bankers in India as there was in London in favour of the Lombard Jews of Lombard Street when they were exposed to forced contribution to the State.

“ 3. We have had more varied weather since we left Suez. In the Red Sea it was very hot with some bad weather—a crowded Boat, and not so well balanced at sea as the *Pera*. The journey has been much less agreeable from Suez. At the moment we have again calm weather and tolerably cool. We landed at Aden under a Salute of ten guns and were most hospitably received by the Commandant Col. Coghlan and the Assistant Resident Capt. Playfair, a brother of Lyon Playfair's. With the former we spent an agreeable day.

“ 4. At Aden I received a most cordial letter from Lord Canning who had not however at the time he wrote received my letter, but who had heard from Sir C. Wood that my appointment had been made. He was to leave for a long tour in State on the 10th Oct.—and he is very anxious that I should proceed on my arrival to visit him for a fortnight in Camp. It will take me five weeks altogether, and if I go I shall take William with me. He hopes that I shall see much of India which will be extremely useful and which I could not see at Calcutta. He leaves instructions behind him to have a wing of Govt. House in Calcutta prepared for us, and also a residence at Barrackpore, the Windsor of Calcutta (15 miles distant) that we may choose between the one

and the other. As long as I remain we shall live in Govt. House, but if I go up to the Camp the ladies will prefer Barrackpore I think. However he says he will write in greater detail to Galle when he will have received my letter—I will then decide what to do. What I shall probably do will be to spend a fortnight in Calcutta—to send home our despatch upon the Currency question—to determine upon the returns and information I shall require to be prepared as preliminary to the financial measures which I shall introduce, and then to go up to the Camp so that no time will be lost—this will also give us time to receive our things round the Cape.

“ 5. Of course we are ahead of all European news after the 26th via Marseilles, and shall really have nothing more till a fortnight after our arrival in Calcutta.

“ 6. With regard to Indian news, in the meantime, you must use your own judgment, and write as freely as if I were in no way concerned. I shall send you the *Friend of India* which is really a good paper.

“ *Novr.* 23. Nearing Madras.

“ I did not post this at Ceylon because I found it would be as soon if I posted it at Madras. We arrived at Galle on Sunday morning after rough weather for 24 hours. Sir Henry Ward with a portion of his staff had come down from Colombo to receive us, and a most hearty welcome they gave us. We remained at the Queen's House from Sunday Morn^g till Monday at noon and enjoyed ourselves exceedingly. The contrast between the Red Sea and Aden and Ceylon is the most striking you can imagine. Down to the water's edge all along the coast you have the country densely wooded, with cocoanut and palm, and behind the Coast the whole country seems to consist of series of hills and mountains all wooded to the top. Nothing could be more beautiful than the whole effect of the scene.

“ But I fear I tire you. The weather is anything but good and we do not expect to reach Madras till night, too late to land. In that case we will land for six hours

in the morning to visit Trevelyan who is on the look-out for us. With best love to all at Clevedon.

“Yours truly,

“JAMES WILSON.

“P.S. Kind regards to Hutton.”

“KENT HOUSE,

“KNIGHTSBRIDGE,

“19th Nov., 1859.

“MY DEAR WILSON,

“I was much disappointed that a series of misadventures prevented our being in town at the same time last autumn, and thus deprived me of the opportunity of taking leave of you, and of having some more Indian talk with you.

“The alarm about a French invasion has undergone a considerable increase during the last fortnight. There has been a deliberate and threatening article in the *Times*. We have nothing at present in our domestic or foreign relations which should cause us uneasiness except the Indian deficit. But there is the unlucky necessity for large military and naval expenditure caused by the attitude of L. N. and the temper of the French people. This is a source of danger, the extent of which cannot be calculated according to any certain standard. We have not offended France, and France has not offended us. There is no legitimate cause of alarm. Nevertheless the great majority of people now believe that war with France is an event which may reasonably be anticipated within a year. My belief is that L. N. does not wish for war with England, but a man who scatters about firebrands is likely to cause a conflagration.

“I have a strong conviction that Govt. in India in its present form is a decided improvement upon the hybrid article mixed of Govt. and Company which had subsisted since 1784. The great problem to be solved is whether there is such a capacity for improvement, intellectual and moral, in the Hindu races, as will within any assignable period enable us to take them into

partnership to some considerable extent in the Government of their own country, or must we reckon upon always keeping them, like children, in a state of tutelage? No Oriental nation has hitherto risen above that infant stage of society in which despotism cut into fragments is the rule of public life; or has been able to emancipate the civil from the religious law. I wish I could see any good ground for thinking that there is not a radical and inherent inferiority to the European races.

"Lady Granville's¹ life has been in danger on account of heart disease. She is now better and she and Lord G. are about to return from Germany. The Reform feeling is flat. The disclosures of bribery in the large constituencies of Wakefield and Gloucester and as to the folly of the workmen as evinced in their strike, have cooled to a still lower degree the somewhat tepid feeling which existed previously.

"Yours very sincerely,
"G. C. LEWIS."

On his voyage out and while in India my father kept up a constant correspondence with Sir Charles Wood and other officials, copies of which he sent to Bagehot. Out of a few of these very lengthy letters the following extracts outline the work my father had in hand. Soon after his arrival in Calcutta he wrote:

"8th December.

"MY DEAR SIR CHARLES WOOD,

"In prosecuting preliminary enquiries before going to Lord Canning the great difficulty I have experienced is the impossibility of obtaining information, not from a want of will to give it, but from the difficulty of reaching it.

"A Chancellor of the Exchequer in England would find it a difficult task to arrange his annual budget and especially to impose new taxes if he had to consult every revenue officer in the country as to what would prove best. He would have as many and as conflicting

¹ She died March 1860.

opinions as we have here, and his position would not be mended, if, not content with offering an opinion if asked or not, many of them were to rush into print and each to show that some tax or other could not be borne. The truth is there is so much to be said against any and every tax taken separately that it is not difficult to raise a prejudice against them all, and thus make any tax difficult. But what I feel is, that as all are unpopular the best course is to take that which will best bear discussion, and firmly stand by it. I do not believe in any serious opposition if fair ground is taken and a firm front maintained.

“ J. W.”

On the next day he writes to Sir Charles Trevelyan, with whom he had discussed public matters at Madras on his way to Calcutta :

“ GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
“ 9th December.

“ DEAR TREVELYAN,

“ I have now had ten days' clear work here and begin to have some measure of the extent of the work to be done. Departmentally alone it is enormous ; the whole fabric seems to have arisen without any attempt at any general system or plan, and with regard to Finances and Expenditure and checks, including pay and audit, we seem here to be much in the same condition as we were in England, under our old Exchequer system, with numerous separate audits, and with little or no Treasury control, and in those days with a very imperfect Parliamentary control. But perhaps one of the most imperfect departments is the Commissariat. I believe we shall have to go through here much the same process that we did in England in order to reduce everything into a system. No one is more familiar with the reforms which have been made of late years in England than yourself—and especially as regards the Commissariat branch—I have sent for all the minutes and regulations in England upon the subject.

“ Upon the plans of estimates, sanction, and budget

I think from our conversation the other day we are pretty well agreed.

"May I express a hope that you will instruct your officers entrusted with the settlement of the imposts that no expression will be used that can be construed into an exemption from any general tax to which they in common with others may be exposed, so that the difficulties (theoretical, I think) which have been raised in respect of the Bengal Zemindars may not arise in respect to new settlement?"

"We arrived in Calcutta on the 20th all the better for our short but agreeable stay at Madras, and the fresh fruit you sent on board. I start to-morrow for Meerut and Delhi to join Lord Canning for a week or ten days. I shall be absent five weeks. Let me hear from you as often and at as great length upon these to me all-absorbing topics as you conveniently can.

"I am very anxious for the result of the Military Finance Committee.

"J. WILSON."

To Sir Charles Wood my father writes :

"A fair Income Tax has everything now to commend it.

"1. The merchants one and all have declared publicly and to me privately that they are all in favour of it, if generally extended.

"2. The Press has done the same.

"3. It would give us far more money.

"4. And above all, it would be the introduction of a principle of taxation which, being just and general, may lay the basis for a sounder financial system, and of a revenue to the State flexible and adapted to emergencies. As to the practicability of assessing it, I have no fear if we only take powers sufficiently large and discretionary to assess Schedule D. somewhat in accordance with the habits of the people, giving a wide margin to the Commissioners of the districts to determine the precise plan.

"P.S. Above all things we must take our stand

upon some intelligible principle in taxation and stick firmly to it—vacillation and hesitation will ruin anything in this country. They like to be ruled if you are only just and equal in your dealings. At the present moment they are not in the mood to resist anything. I am glad to find that your views and my own are perfectly in unison, so that I may securely proceed without fearing any cross that might mar our best exertions. If I find Lord C. as well agreed with me, I shall propose to act at once on my return to Calcutta, as something must be done with Harrington's Bill which is now lying over referred to a Committee.

"We shall have a great labour in military affairs, in which department there is reason for enormous deduction. I shall be thankful if in any arrangement you can give me additional military practical aid to assist in reduction. You know my views as to the necessity, if we are to have efficiency, of having departmental responsibility."

"PARIS,
"9 Nov., 1859.

"DEAR SIR,

"I came back to Paris just in time to receive your letter from Malta. You have undertaken a great task, but you also possess that which is requisite to accomplish it. It will be an honor for you and a great advantage to the Britannic Empire (British and French systems of taxation follow). I renew my best wishes towards you.

"MICHEL CHEVALIER."

After arriving in India my father wrote :

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
"CALCUTTA,
"8th December, 1859.

"DEAR WALTER,

"There was an impression in some quarters that my appointment would not be very agreeable to Lord Canning, but his letters which met me on my way out

and on my arrival here show very much the contrary. I cannot express in terms too strong the willingness of every one here to aid me in every way. It may be that they cannot do much, but certainly the will is not wanting.

"I have had a great deputation of the Chamber of Commerce and the India Planters' Association this week to present an address, and another from the Native Association. They are very confiding and express themselves very willing to be taxed if done fairly. I don't think they will be a difficult people to manage."

The following letters from Lord Canning were those to which my father alluded. He confided them to Bagehot's care :

" CALCUTTA,
" 22nd September, 1859.

" DEAR MR. WILSON,

" By the last mail I have heard that your appointment is certain, and Sydney tells me that you will leave England in October.

" I therefore write this to meet you as you set foot on the first outpost of our Indian Empire (not a cheerful specimen of it), and to carry to you an early and very sincere welcome. I am only sorry that it will not be possible for me to greet you in person when you land in Calcutta, my plans for a visit to the N.W.P. and Punjab have long been made and meetings with the native chiefs fixed.

" I start on the 9th or 10th of next month ; how long it may be before I return to Calcutta I cannot yet say. I hope to pass a part at least of the next hot season in the hills, but if need be I shall come down to Bengal again at the end of April or May before going to Simla. But I am very desirous to see you before you set to work, and as you will get to Calcutta just at the time of year when the journey can be made with ease and pleasantly, I would propose to you to join the Camp, as soon as you

conveniently can do so after landing ; seven or eight days will take you to Agra and two more to Delhi ; if I shall have reached that distance before you overtake me you will see much that is worth seeing of men and things military and civil whilst in Camp and under circumstances of unusual interest, and you will realise at once the difference between Calcutta and India which is not easily taken in at first, great as it is. There are several points upon which I wish to speak with you, connected with our finances, and which a few days of talk will dispose of more effectually than reams of letters ; five weeks' absence from Calcutta will enable you to spend at least a fortnight in Camp, and to see much with your own eyes by the way, including most of our great public works. I cannot at present propose a distinct plan to you because I do not at all know by which steamer in October you will leave England, but as soon as I hear this, I will describe a more definite arrangement than is possible at this moment. There is another matter ; you will probably find it very difficult to suit yourself at once with a house in Calcutta. I do not know whether any of your family accompany you, but if so the difficulty will be increased. I will therefore leave orders that apartments in a wing of Government House shall be made ready for yourself and yours on your arrival. My whole establishment will, almost to a man, be up country, but you will find no difficulty in making provision for household wants. Should your daughters be with you, it might perhaps be more agreeable to them in your absence to fix their residence at Barrackpore, fifteen miles from Calcutta ; if so one of the houses in the park shall be at their disposal, but this is a subsidiary arrangement which can easily be settled when the time comes. I shall no doubt hear something certain of your movements before I leave Calcutta. Upon doing so I will send another letter to meet you at Galle.

“ Believe me,

“ Yours very faithfully,

“ CANNING.”

"CAWNPORE,

"4th November, 1859.

"DEAR MR. WILSON,

"You will have received at Aden a letter which I wrote before yours of the 25th August reached me. I send this to catch you at Madras, and to assure you that you shall find everything in Calcutta ready for your reception to such a degree, as I hope, to spare you all inconvenience and trouble. In saying this I refer to bodily comforts mainly; but pray dismiss from your mind all suspicion that you will in more important matters meet with any antagonism, open or silent, on the part of Officers of Government. I see that Sir C. Wood has this apprehension as well as yourself, but I will almost undertake to say that none shall show itself, and I will confidently answer for its being put down if it does. I will send to meet you at Calcutta, a memorandum strictly private, of the disposition, usefulness, capacity or incapacity of those with whom you will be brought into immediate contact; you will, I think, find it of service and reassuring. I entirely concur with you as to the blot in India of the divided responsibility of the financial and revenue department. I do not think that you will find any financial officer of the Government of India to disagree with you on this point, certainly none whose opinion is worth having, but if there be such, depend upon it, his opinion will not be in your way.

"I will write to you again to Calcutta respecting the arrangements for your run up country. I got a letter from Sir C. Wood yesterday, 3rd October, in which he seems to hope that I would not leave Calcutta before your arrival. I would willingly have stayed, if that were possible, but it was not so, after the engagements I had made with the native chiefs, and moreover my presence in Oude and elsewhere has been productive already of results which will be of great and immediate effect upon our financial task. The Commander-in-Chief is in Camp with me, and will remain until you come up. I will endeavour so to spin out the next business of my tour

(I leave this place to-morrow) as not to pass beyond Agra before you arrive. An officer of my staff will present himself on board the steamer as soon as she anchors at Garden Reach and shall conduct you to Government House, where altho' necessarily denuded greatly of household, by my being in Camp, I hope that Mrs. Wilson and her daughters will find themselves fairly comfortable.

"I beg you to offer them my hearty welcome, and also my regret that I cannot signify it in person.

"Believe me, dear Mr. Wilson,

"Yours sincerely,

"CANNING."

"CAMP AROUND,

"22nd November, 1859.

"DEAR MR. WILSON,

"This will be delivered to you by Captain Delane, 2nd in command of my body-guard, who has orders to go on board of your steamer as soon as it arrives, and to conduct yourself and Mrs. Wilson to Government House. I hope, more than I expect, that you will find things comfortable in the wing which has been prepared for you; the whole house is more or less in the hands of workmen for its triennial repairs which I was obliged to postpone last year when they were due, thereby giving the white ants an extra chance. The person in charge of Government House is named Westfield: he has often ushered you into Lady Palmerston's drawing-room. I think you will find him useful, in bringing servants and providing for other wants, at all events he is very willing to be so; I mean of course servants for personal use, he has his own staff for the care of the house. I don't think I have anything more to say in this note than again to bid you and yours heartily welcome. The letters which accompany this you had better open in some quieter spot than the deck of a disgorging steamer.

"Sincerely yours,

"CANNING.

"P.S. Captain Delane is brother to Delane of the *Times*."

" CAMP AROUND,

" 22nd November, 1859.

" DEAR MR. WILSON,

" I write this to meet you at Calcutta, where you will arrive about the 28th. I am sanguine that a few days' interview with those amongst whom your labours will lie will dispel any apprehension you have entertained of thwarting or opposition or even of lukewarm aid.

" In a recent letter, Sir C. Wood expressed a hope that I should remain in Calcutta to help you against any such discouragements, but I could not, without risk of causing suspicions and much mischief, have put off my meetings with the native chiefs, and the rewarding and re-cementing of relations with them, even if I had received his letter in time, and so far as your own facilities for your work are concerned it is quite unnecessary. I daresay that capital will be made by the newspapers and elsewhere of my being absent when you arrive, but this is of no great moment ; I think, however, it is a reason (though a minor one) for your coming on a visit to the Camp, as soon as you can do so conveniently. The fact of your having been in personal communication with the Governor-General and returning, as will be obvious, armed with his fullest support, will be the best possible antidote to any mischievous representation ; it will also help your way with all your colleagues and highest subordinates, but the strongest reasons are in the real business we have in hand, the re-casting of the financial department, the so-called license tax and the paper currency, and there are some minor matters.

" As regards the financial department, I am strongly inclined to carry out the scheme which was proposed by Lord Dalhousie in 1854 and 1855 but rejected by the Court of Directors, for joining the home and financial departments, but I think that some modification of that scheme is necessary. The license tax is too long a chapter to enter upon here. I recommend you to ask Mr. Harrington to give you verbally a full account of the course that measure took ; there has been a good deal of

misunderstanding about it ; still it is not yet in a right shape. I heard a day or two ago that none of the local Governments, except Bombay, had sent in their opinions on it. I am very anxious about the paper currency. I look to it as one of our surest though an indirect means of relief. The care must be to make it safe from abuse in times of temptation to the Government. My present opinion is that there is no way of doing this so satisfactorily as by giving to Parliament a control over the issue. Wood tells me you are favourable to the measure, but he does not say in what shape, nor do I clearly know his own views upon it. The legal tender of sovereigns is a small question. I am opposed to it, but if the paper currency is taken in hand it will cease to be called for.

“ As to my movements, I shall be at Agra on the 26th. I shall spin out my stay there but shall not be able to extend it beyond the 6th or 7th of December. Thence the Camp will march (12 miles a day) to Delhi, but I shall stop at Muttra, or near to it, for three days. This will bring me to Delhi about the 21st or 22nd December. You will of course be sworn in at once on your arrival. I can hardly judge how much time you will require to look about you and to examine the above-mentioned subjects, but if you could start within a week of the 20th of November, you would easily come up with the Camp several marches this side of Delhi. Lt.-Col. Gale, Sect^y P.W.D., who probably has made the voyage from England with you, has to join me forthwith, but I have told him I can dispense with him till I get to Delhi. His convoy might be useful to you. Nobody knows the road better, or what there is worth seeing upon it. Less than a month would suffice to spend a week in Camp and to see everything of note from Calcutta to Delhi.

“ Let me add that the sooner any man who has to deal with the administration of this country learns the immeasurable differences there are between Calcutta and India, the better. I would have given the best year of my life to have made this tour I am now making before

1857. You already know that the flag-staff house at Barrackpore is at the disposal of Mrs. Wilson.

"Sincerely yours,
"CANNING."

"CAMP AROUND,
"22 Nov. (1859).

"DEAR MRS. WILSON,

"I am told by Lord Canning that Mr. Wilson's arrival is announced by the next steamer, and I hasten to write a word to meet you on your arrival at Calcutta, and to welcome you to India.

"I am afraid the preparations you will find at Government House will not quite accord with English ideas of comfort, but there will be plenty of space and I hope that Westfield (the person left in charge of the house) will do all in his power to arrange everything according to your convenience, and that you will not scruple to tell him of all you require.

"I am afraid that the workmen employed in the other wings of the house may in some degree disturb you, but unfortunately the necessary repairs could not be postponed. Perhaps you will be inclined to pass some time at Barrackpore, and I hope you will make use of the Flagstaff Bungalow, for I think you will find the place and the park and gardens very delightful in this season, and if Mr. Wilson is likely to join this camp for a short time, I am sure you will like Barrackpore very much.

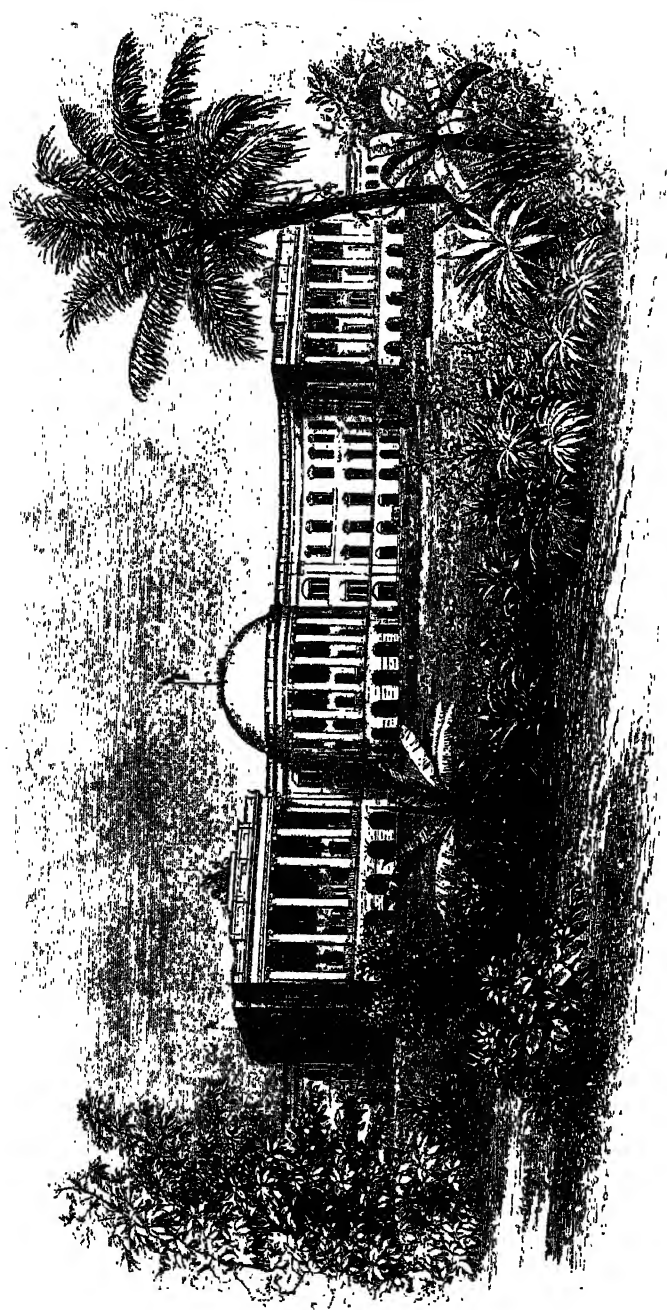
"Pray remember me to Mr. Wilson and the Miss Wilsons, with whom I shall be very happy to renew my acquaintance of several years ago.

"Believe me, yours very truly,
"C. CANNING."

"17 Dec., 1859.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"My time and strength during the next 2½ months will be absorbed by all that is brought upon me by my official tour in addition to the ordinary business of



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA
From "The Story of Two Noble Lives."

Government, but I will arrange for giving you what you want about our Commissariat, Audit and Pay Departments, at an early date after my return, and *sooner if possible*. I grudge leaving the Presidency—but it is a great point to become acquainted with persons and places—and I shall not have such another opportunity.

“The opinion of this Government and of its leading officers on the Licensing Bill has been fully expressed in a recent dispatch to the Supreme Government. We are now applying in good earnest, in concert with the Military Finance Commissioners, to effect a large and early reduction of Military Expenditure.

“I was much pleased at observing the cordial manner in which you had been received by all classes in Calcutta. It is honourable to them, and is a favourable augury of your success. How glad the Ladies must have been to find themselves at the end of their voyage. Mrs. Wilson’s nephew staid here, I hope, as long as was agreeable to him. He studied regularly and will no doubt soon qualify himself for any appointment he may be able to obtain.

“I am at loss where to direct you, but think it safer to direct to Calcutta. The glimpse you got of my old haunts at Agra and Delhi must have interested you.

“Sincerely yours,

“C. TREVELYAN.”

CHAPTER XXIX

IN INDIA ¹

To my sisters and myself the unofficial side of life was recounted :

“ THE CAMP : MEERUT,
“ 20th December, 1859.

“ MY DEAR ELIZA, JULIA AND EMMY,

“ Your first letter overtook me only two days ago from Calcutta on reaching the Camp, and although the mail is going off in an hour to Bombay I cannot allow the opportunity to pass without giving you some account of our proceedings here. As to all that happened on the voyage after I wrote, and as to all that has occurred in Calcutta since our arrival, and the gaieties into which they have plunged since we left for the Camp, I would say nothing, for no doubt you will have heard it all from more leisurely news. William tells me also that he has given you a full account of what has gone on in the Camp since our arrival, but I don't know if he told you about the fire in Lady Canning's tent a few nights ago, which will no doubt be much exaggerated in the papers. However she lost all her wardrobe in about five minutes, but most of the jewels have been recovered though injured. With such full information as you possess it seems best that I should tell you of our journey from Calcutta :

“ . . . We left on Saturday morning the 10th, crossed the river in the Governor-General's barge to the south side of the Hooghly where the Station is, and found the State carriage (like one of the Queen's on the Great

¹ Indian names of people and places have been left as written in letters.

Western) prepared for us, in which we travelled in as good a style as we could upon any English line to Runnegunge, the present limit of the line, 120 miles. It was a curious feeling when I had brought to my mind the planning of this line, and particularly the Branch to Runnegunge, which I remember deciding at Fontainville about ten years ago.¹ Thus far we passed through a flat, rich country teeming with people and the richest of crops of every description. A goodly country to bear taxes !

“ From Runnegunge we rode into the high hilly country which extends all the way to the banks of the Ganges, which river we crossed at Benares ; that part of the journey occupied sixty hours, resting only about *two hours* at one of the Bungalows each day for the one meal which we took, saving cold tea, biscuits, and oranges as we journeyed on. The country all the way is perfectly beautiful. The flat parts all flanked with fine trees, tamarinds, mango groves, and every variety of large tree, in a park-like fashion. On each hand, at less or greater distances, we had magnificent ranges of hills rising in the most picturesque manner, rugged and pointed in their outlines, clothed with jungle wood to the top and resembling the steep hills near Chepstow. One hill, almost the only bare one, was a facsimile of Arthur’s Seat, near Edinburgh. We arrived at the banks of the Ganges (follow me on the map) opposite Benares just as the sun was rising on Tuesday morning, and as we crossed the river I certainly never saw a more imposing City view than the *Holy City* presented stretching along the banks of the river, with its mosques and minarets. We drove direct to the College of Benares where we were taken in by Mr. Griffith, the Chief Resident of the College. The Maharajah of Benares, the wealthiest Native of the country, had heard of my probable visit and, in order to have the first intimation, had horsemen

¹ When Secretary to the Indian Board of Control my father had done important work by establishing railway services in many parts of India which up to that time were difficult of access.

posted round Mr. Griffith's for the whole day before. He wished to visit us, but I postponed receiving him till my return, when I should have more leisure. He sent, however, presents of flowers, fruits, sweetmeats, etc. We rested all the morning with Mr. Griffith, who knew us at Westbury, his father being the late Clergyman of Corseling; we visited the College where we found Dulup Sing's cousin, one of the scholars, whom the people regard as the real representative of the family.

"On Tuesday morning we started by railway from Allahabad to Cawnpore where we remained only two hours to dine. Our Bungalow was close to the place of the Massacre, which we went to see with Mr. Drummond, one of the best Officers of the District. We started by dark again and came on direct for the Camp, which we reached early on Sunday morning and found a most comfortable tent, with sitting-room in the centre and a bedroom on each side of it prepared for us next to Lord Canning's. Everything in Camp, including tents, is in duplicate, so that when you arrive morning after morning you seem always to go into the same place again. You find everything in the new spot just as you left it two hours before in the last place. Everything is made as agreeable and comfortable as possible for us. We move daily in one of Lord Canning's carriages appropriated to our use. We have Lord Clyde pitched close to us. We have General Mansfield and Lady Mansfield in the Camp and a great many public officers. Yesterday we had Sir Robert Montgomery from the Punjab, with whom Lord Canning and I had a long conference. My business goes on as well as I could wish. Last night Lady Canning gave a dinner party, Lord Clyde, General Mansfield and Lady M. and many others were there. It was a curious sight when we came out of the tent with Lord Clyde, to come away, to find a magnificently caparisoned elephant waiting for him to take him home. The beast quietly kneeled down. His Lordship walked up a ladder and seated himself on his high throne; the animal quietly rose, and proceeded with dignified steps

on his way, Lord Clyde being as high as the top of a second story window of an English house.

"This morning we made a most imposing entry into this Station (the cradle of the Mutiny). All the country through the whole line of march seemed turned out. In the Station there are some thousands of troops, English and Sikh, all paraded, and the whole scene was most striking. The Camp alone consists of 20,000 persons of all classes who move every day. You can conceive the space of ground which the whole streets of tents cover. The country is everywhere extremely quiet, the people feel themselves completely beaten, are annoyed at their folly and failure, and more than ever look with astonishment upon British courage, intrepidity and power. They seem eager only that the past shall be forgotten. Their leaders are all dead or taken. The prestige of England never stood higher. They are ready to submit to anything and to pay any taxes we impose ; they are only astonished at our generosity and leniency after the deep offence we have received. Lord Canning's progress through the country has had the best effect. I am glad I have come to the Camp. I could not have learned so much in any other way. It is likely I shall go from Delhi to Lahore and Umritza in the Punjab and get back to Calcutta about the 18th of January. We shall stay longer at the places on our way back.

"My time is up. The post is going. I have not time to read over what I have written. There may be many mistakes. *I have not* a line from Walter. Our letters from the India mail are to the 10th of Novr. by Calcutta. We are hourly expecting the Bombay mail. You will, I hope, say that I have given you a fair dish of small talk.

"With love to you all,

"Your affectionate Papa,

"JAMES WILSON.

"P.S. The weather is brilliant, sunny and cold."

To my mother the following letters were written :

“ 65 miles N. of Meerut and in full

“ sight of the range of Snow Hills.

“ 22 Dec. 1859.

“ MY DEAR ELIZA,

“ I received your letter before leaving Meerut, into which place we entered with great state on Monday morning. It is a magnificent military station and, as you recollect, was the cradle of the Mutiny. Having only two days with Lord Canning before the Mail left for Bombay yesterday, and Sir Robt. Montgomery having come to camp on purpose to see me, I have done nothing but discuss measures and write home. We left after dinner and travelled all night, Lord and Lady Canning, myself, Mr. Beadon, Col. Yule and two A.D.C.s. The attractions of the place are the great Military Engineering College, a very fine Engineering Establishment and Foundry and Workshop, the celebrated Aqueduct of two miles over which the Ganges runs, etc. To-morrow we go up to Burdwan, the head of the canal, and the holy place where the natives, rich and poor, resort to once a year to bathe.

“ MEERUT. 22/Dec.

“ I have just returned here after again travelling all night. Yesterday after breakfast we mounted elephants (I for the first time) and went through the native town of Burdwan (a most curious place) about a mile up the Ganges, and then took two boats to descend the river in front of the town, of which Lady Canning took some good sketches.

“ I am glad that you have had so much to amuse you—the people seem to be very attentive and kind to you all. . . . Lady Canning told me all about the fire. It happened in her bedroom at 12 o'clock at night from a stove which had been lighted. She lost all her clothes, except the dress she escaped in ; but recovered most of the jewels. It was all over in five minutes, by throwing the tent down. It caught Ld. Canning's room and destroyed some of his papers.

"It is very fortunate that I have come up here. I have seen and heard so much that will be of the greatest service to me."

"MEERUT,

"25 Dec. 1859.

"MY DEAR ELIZA,

"... Yesterday we had a grand Durbar for the reception of about 75 chiefs and the Punna Rajah, an independent Ally who has done good service in Bundelcund. The ceremony was very imposing. Before the public reception Lord Canning gave private receptions to the Punna and about 7 other chief Rajahs, at which I assisted. We then went into the Grand tent prepared for the occasion. There were three grand gold chairs in the centre ; Lord Canning occupied the centre : I sat on his left, and Mr. Beaden, M.C., on the other side. On the right side of the tent were arranged in crescent form the native Chiefs to be presented, the Punna occupying the chair nearest to Lord Canning. He was presented first and Lord Canning made a speech to him as a special distinction. All the others were presented in order, many of them having new Titles printed on parchment. On the other side of the tent were numbers of European officers, military and civil. Each chief presented a gift in gold coin, some of them as much as 100 Mohurs (£150). After the presentation many other gifts were brought in and laid on the floor, and then Lord Canning's gifts in return were brought in one by one and spread out, each chief approaching and having a chain of pearls with a medal affixed, and to the chief ones was given a gorgeous sword. The ceremony lasted about 3 hours. Among the presents were richly caparisoned elephants and horses. In the evening there was a great dinner-party to about 60 Europeans.

"All day long I am closely engaged with work and am getting through a good deal very satisfactorily. Send for the *Phoenix* newspaper of Dec. 21 and you will find a pen and ink description of me which will amuse you."

"Dec. 26.

"Early this morning we started all on horseback for the Parade ground, perhaps the finest in India, if not in the world, to the ceremony of Lady Canning presenting the 35th with new colours. I rode almost all the time with Lord Clyde and close to Lord and Lady Canning so saw and heard everything. There was first a grand review of 3,500 men. Lady Canning made a very nice and appropriate speech and Col. Walter (the Col. of the Regiment) made an appropriate reply. Everything that Lady Canning does is distinguished by so much simplicity and good sense and yet with great dignity, so that everything appears to advantage under her influence."

Writing to her mother, Lady Stuart de Rothesay, respecting this function, Lady Canning says :

Jan. 2, 1860. "My principal business, which weighed heavily on me, was a presentation of colours to the 35th regiment. I got through my speech very well, and did it all on horseback, but was very glad to get over it without having forgotten any of my speech. I am so unused to learning anything by heart that it was quite a *tour de force* for me to accomplish it."

"Camp. Dec. 17th, 1859. I finish this at Meerut. Mr. Wilson is here, evidently very happy and full of questions, and feeling how much he has to learn."

My father continues :

"I afterwards went to a déjeuner at the Camp of the Regiment, where I found Mrs. Hickey and Major Innes, another of our fellow-passengers. In the afternoon I went with Lord Canning to visit the great prison, which was broken open during the Mutiny to release the prisoners. It is now a very fine establishment, every man being engaged upon some trade or useful industry. The cleanliness and discipline are admirable.

"We have had the officers of the 35th to dinner, about 50, with Lord Clyde and others. They have now

all gone to the Ball, but I felt rather disposed to stop in my tent and work. I get a great deal of time between these ceremonies for work and am making great progress. If it were not for my work I should get dreadfully tired of this kind of life."

"DELHI,

"Dec. 29, 1859.

"We have just made a most imposing entry into Delhi. At Jumna we left the carriages and mounted our horses, I, as before, riding Lord Canning's English horse, Negus, a fine showy white horse. Lord Canning and Lord Clyde, with Lady Canning between them, headed the procession. Col. Sir Edward Campbell, the chief of the A.D.C. Staff, who was at the siege and taking of Delhi, explained everything as we entered. Lines of troops with fine bands of music, our own Cavalcade, and the roadsides, streets and house-tops crowded with people: you may conceive how fine the sight was, and how exciting when we reflected on the contrast of the peaceful entry with the bloody conflicts of which the place was witness two years ago, and the price at which it has been purchased.

"The whole camp contains about 20,000 people. There is a duplicate of everything, so when we reach our march's end we find our camps struck exactly in the same order and position as we left them."

"LAHORE,

"Jan. 3, 1860.

"We have just arrived here and I have half an hour before breakfast. We are with Sir Robt. Montgomery, the Lt.-Governor.

"Before leaving Delhi we inspected the Palace. There is nothing very remarkable about it except its immense size. In my opinion the extensive high wall round it is the finest part. It may have been very different when inhabited by Royalty. The wonderful crystal throne, one block of pure crystal, is packed up to be sent to Calcutta on its way to England. The

great Mosque is very fine indeed, much grander, with less showy tinsel, than the one at Cairo. We mounted to the top of a very high pillar and had an excellent view of the whole place. Then Lord and Lady Canning and I, with Sir E. Campbell and Major Hill, who were both at the Siege, went round all the ground and lines of the British troops.

"Next morning I went in a carriage drawn by two camels to breakfast with Mr. Brandreth, the Commissioner of the Station. The Bishop of Calcutta and his wife were staying with them. I had an interview of two hours with four of the Delhi Bankers and got much information. The rest of the day was spent in business with Ld. Canning. Next morning at 7 William and I went in the camel-carriage to the wonderful pillar, Koortuh, about 12 miles off. 340 ft. high and 850 years old. In the adjoining village is a large open deep well, 80 ft. to the surface of the water. The natives amuse themselves by jumping down from the top into the water, which they do with apparent ease, $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. of them in a few minutes. They expect for the feat 4 annas each. In the afternoon of Saturday we had a very interesting scene. When the Durbar was held at Agra the Rajah of Birtpoor was away in this country being married to the daughter of our great friend in need, the Rajah of Putcallah. The bridegroom is 8 years old, the bride 7 years ! He begged for a private reception, which Lord Canning gave. He is one of the independent chiefs whose rank entitles him to a return visit. He was encamped about a mile from our camp. Col. Bouverie, whom you met at Coleshill in 1854, is the British Resident at his Court. We started in great state at 4 o'clock, I riding with Lord Canning in the State Carriage, accompanied by a large escort of Cavalry. We passed through his camp, lined with his native troops, with his native bands playing English tunes, with innumerable elephants gaily caparisoned with silver seats and canopies. Among other attractions were two platforms with dancing girls dancing away. When we came within 200 yards

of his tent, he met us, mounted on a splendid elephant covered with gold and silver, and followed by his train of personal attendants similarly mounted. He allowed us to pass on and fell in behind our carriage. We drove to the front of the tent and alighted. The Rajah, taking Lord Canning by the hand, led him into the tent, the rest of us following. He took his seat in the centre chair, placed Lord Canning on his right and myself on his left, and began a conversation with the self-possession of a grown man. But think all this was done by a very fine but very little fellow of 8 ! The tent was large and well-furnished : a large space was left in front upon which his present to Lord Canning was spread. Before we took our leave he took a bottle of Otto of Roses and with a hairbrush placed some on the handkerchiefs of Ld. C. and myself, and then handed it to an attendant who did the same to the suite. We then rose : he led us to the carriage, and, after cordially shaking hands, we drove off.

“ On Sunday we started for Jallundar, where we were met by the carriage of the Rajah of Kapertalla, a very faithful friend. It was drawn by 8 mules. Every day shows more and more the advantage of the journey.”

“ AGRA,

“ Jan. 12, 1860.

“ I will send letters to Lord Cowley and Guizot by the Bombay mail.

“ Among the most striking incidents have been our visits to the great native chiefs at their own place—the Garou, the great head of the Sikh religion. The Rajah of Kapertalla who fought for us at Lucknow and has since married a Christian wife, and the Rajah of Putcallah, who saved the Punjab if not the British Empire.

“ I am getting through no end of useful business. My journey will be of enormous advantage. Everywhere I have found every desire to assist me. Colonel Shipley had gone on to Peshawur and so I did not see him.”

"GUNGAPOOR,

"19 Jan. 1860.

"We have just arrived here from Benares. We have come rapidly through Agra, Cawnpore, and Lucknow, where we stayed with Mr. Campbell and saw the Riddles, to Allahabad, Mirzapoor, where we stayed with Mr. Lean the Judge, brother to Mr. Lean of Bath. We return to Benares to-morrow, and leave on Saturday, arriving at Calcutta (God be thanked) on Tuesday about 4 o'clock by train."

CHAPTER XXX

LETTERS FROM LORD CANNING FROM THE CAMP—SIR
RICHARD TEMPLE

FROM the time my father left Lord Canning, a constant correspondence between them took place with reference chiefly to the measures my father was framing in order to meet the deficit. This correspondence proves how thoroughly all the measures my father proposed to the Legislative Council were previously threshed out between Lord Canning and himself. The first letter was dated from :

“ CAMP OOGANA,
“ Jan. 22, 1860.

“ MY DEAR WILSON,

“ Temple will go to Calcutta ; but I find that he is Compensation Commissioner, and he cannot leave that work unfinished, or transfer it to another without causing much delay. This would be a just ground of complaint from the Claimants, and must be avoided even at some inconvenience to ourselves. Montgomery promises that he shall be free by the 15th of February, but bemoans his loss.

“ The Police Papers have come back and I shall send Edmonton his instructions in a day or two. It will require some management to transfer the performance of ordinary beorkundanze duties to Police of the better organised description without incurring (so far as that part of the change is concerned) an increase by expense. The establishment of two classes of Police men, one of which shall receive a lower rate of pay than the other, although subject to the same authority, will be necessary.

“ I am not in favour of changing the name to any one new general designation for all India. It is not

desirable to aim at assimilating the Police under the various local Governments—although that of the N.W. Province may be made more like to that of Oude with advantage—therefore I would not christen them anew by one common name. I doubt that we should make ourselves more intelligible in England by doing so.

“Your report of the opinions on the Tax on Tobacco shakes my objective somewhat. I shall read whatever you send me on that subject with great interest. My objections—chiefly on the score of supposed vexatious interference with an article in a great degree home-grown and home-consumed—will be much weakened if the District Officers do not share them.

“I still consider 100 R's too low a limit for the Income Tax.

“They have made a mess at home of my proposal regarding Sir W. Mansfield—taking all that there was of evil in it, *viz.* the risk (they have made it a certainty) of jealousy and bad blood, without putting him in the position in which alone his remarkable fitness for the service would be of avail. They have named him General of Division under Sir Hope Grant. He has asked leave to decline.

“I return the interesting letters you sent me with many thanks. I am sorry that I missed the day for sending them to Allahabad.

“Ever yours sincerely,

“CANNING.

“We are here two marches beyond Umballa—with a deluge of rain and the camp all a-swim.

“I shall be at Lahore on the 10th February.”

The day following Lord Canning writes :

“CAMP OOGANA,

“January 23rd, 1860.

“MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

“I have not heard from you since you saw Wingfield—if indeed you did see him—but here is an extract of a letter just received from him.

"It promises well for the License Tax in Oude, and also shows that the powers given the other day to some of the Chief Taloohdars are standing us in good stead.

"A Despatch from the Com^d of Pegu has come in this morning. He objects to a Tax on Trades, and would obtain the contribution which will be required from Pegu (which he modestly estimates at 1 lac) by a large increase of the ground rent in Towns.

"There is nothing cogent in what he says. The Despatch will go to Calcutta with my opinion to that effect.

"Sincerely yours,

"CANNING.

"The RT. HON. JAS. WILSON."

Extract from a letter from C. J. Wingfield, Esqre., to C. Beadon, Esqre., dated Pertabghur 16th January, 1860 :

"The Tax on Trades is progressing satisfactorily in the districts. The Taloohdars are ready to undertake its collection on their estates, Hunuriat Sing immediately engaged to collect the amount fixed on his per 8000 Rupees. Lal Madho will do the same. In fact they prefer collecting to letting the Tehseeldars interfere in the Villages. I have not had recourse to Octroi duties anywhere but in Lucknow, and *there* I am in hopes of commuting the proposed increased Octroi for 50,000 Rupees additional direct tax."

"CAMP PHUGWARRA,

"January 31st, 1860.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"I got your letter from Shergotty two days ago, but I have received none from Lucknow.

"The opinion of the Allahabad and other Officers in favour of 100 Rupees a year as a limit of exemption from Income Tax is good so far as it goes ; but we must not rely upon opinions alone. We must know how the limit would work. This will be easily ascertainable. If a certain number of Pergunnas be taken in different

districts, the land Revenue of each stated ; the number of persons from whom it is collected, also stated ; and this number divided into those who would fall under the Tax at the proposed limit, and those who would not, we shall know better how to judge of the limit. I think this information is necessary both for the defence of so low a limit as 100 Rupees in a Tax which professes to be forbearing towards the lower classes ; and in order that we may calculate the extent of hostility which it may provoke.

“ A District Officer would furnish the information for any of his Pergunnas in a few hours ; and it should be obtained from different parts of the country—from the upper part of the N.W. Provinces where the Assessment is high ; from Gornekpore where it is low ; from Bengal etc.

“ The point is one upon which no false step must be made.

“ I hope you will take an early opportunity of consulting the Lt. Governor of Bengal upon your scheme for the Tobacco. He is strongly in favour of a Tobacco duty ; and I should like to know what he says as to the applicability of the scheme to his Province.

“ Sir W. Mansfield, as you will have seen, has asked to decline the divisional command in China. He will leave the Camp at Lahore, and go by the Indus to Bombay, to await further orders from home.

“ Lord Clyde will probably go with me to Peshawar—and to Ferojepore, certainly, if I can manage to get to the latter place. His further movements will depend upon the reply of the Home Government to the proposal that he should prolong his command.

“ Pray let me know where it was that you heard of the barbarities having been committed in the collection of Arms. If it was in the N.W. Provinces it bears upon a matter which I have under consideration at this moment, and I shall be glad to hear the particulars.

“ Yours vy faithfully,

“ CANNING.

“ The Rt. Hon. Jas. Wilson.”

" CAMP DEVEEPOORA,

" *February 10th, 1860.*

" MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

" I write this one march short of Lahore.

" Your letters of Jan. 27 & 29 reached me a few days ago, and to-day I have received that of Feb. 3. The enclosed message has been telegraphed to you this morning in reply.

" The views taken in Calcutta on the subject of the limit to be given to the Income Tax have not yet reached me. As you do not allude to them in your last letter I suppose they have not been despatched.

" But after what I have found here (in the Punjab) and, notwithstanding what the officers of the N.W. Provinces have said to you, it is very unlikely that any encouragement which the Lower Provinces may present for the adoption of so low a limit as One hundred Rupees would reconcile me to it. Here it would include, not any large mass of Landholders, but many who are influential, and who are admitted by the Local Government to be over assessed. These people know that their over assessment is recognised.

" In the last Division through which I passed (Umritsar) and in this one (Lahore) reduction of assessment has been begun. In other Divisions it will have to follow. To accompany this measure with a new Tax upon the incomes derived from Land will be quite unintelligible to them, even if it were defensible in the abstract ; which I think it is not. The position of the Govt. of India in its double capacity of a Landlord receiving Rent and a Government demanding Taxes makes it necessary that the justice of the Rent exacted by it should be taken into account when imposing a Tax upon the profits which remain to the Land holder after he has paid the rent ;—a point which the Govt. or Parliament in England have no need to consider.

" We are about to vex the Towns with a License Tax. We must therefore be doubly careful that not only the mass of the Agricultural Class, but those who, being a little above the mass, exercise much influence in their

villages, shall not be tempted to range themselves against us. With this view I wish to exclude from the Tax all but those who can, for a certainty, bear it with ease. Even then it will fall upon some whose Land is over assessed and upon whom therefore it ought not, in reason, to be imposed. But this is unavoidable. The class will be comparatively small, and as the pinch will not be severe upon them they may be required to bear it until a new assessment shall bring them relief.

"I am quite willing to make Two hundred Rupees the limit ; and that without waiting for reports as to the working of the limit, which, in the case of a lower sum being taken, would, as I said in my letter of Jan. 31, be necessary. This will effectually introduce the thin edge of the wedge.

"I think the Three Grades in the License Tax a great improvement.

"As to Tobacco, your last letter did not enclose Muir's Memorandum. I am very ready to hear my doubts satisfied on this subject. They have reference only to the degree and nature of interference with the free cultivation and home-consumption of Tobacco which the scheme may involve.

"As to Customs, I agree entirely to the increase upon Cotton Twist & Yarn, & upon Salt-petre ; also the enlargement of the free list of Exports.

"According to the extent to which the 20% Duties are productive of evasion it will be quite right to reduce them ; but I am not prepared to throw away those Duties altogether.

"There are some which can hardly be evaded—certainly not to any serious extent ; but I am not aware of any other good reason for reducing them in our present condition. I look upon them as, on the whole, a fair source of revenue in time of pressure, though one which we ought to give up when the pressure is past.

"I will write upon the other subjects of your letter from Lahore.

"Ever sincerely yours,

"CANNING.

"The RT. HON. JAS. WILSON."

"Temple," referred to in Lord Canning's first letter, was many years later Sir Richard Temple, appointed to the post my father held in the Supreme Council. My father met him when with Lord Canning's Camp, and secured him as assistant in his work.

In "Men and Events of My Time in India," Sir Richard Temple writes on meeting my father :

"I met him for the first time, on his arrival at Lahore early in January 1860. John Lawrence had quitted the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab, to which Robert Montgomery succeeded. I had resigned the Secretaryship and became Commissioner of the districts around Lahore. Wilson required an officer of Indian experience to assist him in economising expenditure, introducing a new paper currency, devising fiscal improvement, and generally in his work as Finance Minister. This officer was to be on his personal staff in addition to the ordinary financial secretariat of the Government. He chose me for that appointment, and the choice was ratified by Lord Canning."

Sir Richard Temple then (Mr. Temple) wrote to my father :

"LAHORE,
Feb. 3rd, 1860.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"I am greatly obliged by your kind note of the 28th ult. received to-day.

"The Governor-General is expected here in 3 or 4 days. His Lordship's Camp is close to Mmlsus. As soon as his visit is over I will start to join you without a day's delay. I wish it had been in my power to start immediately on the first summons. As it is I will soon be with you.

"I am deeply sensible of the importance of the subjects you mention. The measures you contemplate are doubtless essential to the safety of the Empire. *To carry them through* will demand all the energy and resolution you bring fresh from England. The evils now eating away the heart of the Empire are not indeed

new to India : they have been several times eradicated and yet they spring up again.

"It is like the natural reproduction of Forests. The seed of evil is in the soil of India, and as soon as the great trees are cut down, fresh ones spring up again.

"However in the task before you, you have the example of men famous in history ; of Clive, Hastings, Bentinck and Dalhousie, all of whom warred with the evils of this kind. Sir John Lawrence used to speak of them almost in a despairing tone, and he was a statesman of the strong sort. Still with your powers and determination the thing, however difficult, will no doubt be done.

"As to myself I look forward with every satisfaction to joining you speedily.

"I highly appreciate the honour conferred by your selection of me : and you may depend on my zealous and devoted service.

"I am,

"Yours very truly,

"R. TEMPLE.

"P.S. The Governor General will hold an immense Durbar here ; and the Chiefs are gathering from all quarters. We hope to give the Viceroy a worthy reception."

Sir R. Montgomery, K.C.B., Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, wrote :

"AMRITSUR,

"Jan. 28th 1860.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"... I cannot tell you what a loss Temple will be to me—you have selected the best man in India. His value you will appreciate more day by day.

"I rejoice he will be in a position where his great knowledge and talents will come into full play. He will be invaluable to you.

"Believe me,

"Yours truly,

"R. MONTGOMERY."

Sir Richard Temple continues : “ I immediately joined him on his return to Calcutta, and thenceforward was on intimate terms of official association with him. I became much attached to him, and whether as master, teacher, or friend, he made an impression which time cannot weaken.

“ He was of the middle height, with considerable breadth of chest and shoulder, his physical frame indicating strength and endurance. His age was fifty-four years, rather late perhaps for a man who proceeds to India for the first time ; still he seemed to bring with him an abundant stock of freshness and vigour. His complexion was light, and the broad prominent brow, overshadowing the eyes, gave an intellectual cast to the face. He had a keen perception of every object that met his view, a habit of casting observant looks in all directions, and an extraordinarily retentive memory of what he saw, heard or read. His manner and conversation, though grave while he was intent on work, were bright and vivacious in society. He delighted in India, and regarded her resources with hopeful interest, her people with sympathy, her scenery with admiration, her antiquities with curiosity. Nothing, he said, could be imagined more intensely interesting than India ; with the ancient cities, the relics of decayed dynasties, the thronging population, the bustle of trade at every corner, the expansive plains bounded by alpine ranges affording a climate for new varieties of production, the large rivers, the magnificent canals irrigating the country, the careful agriculture with cultivation up to the roadside, the thrifty and economical habits of the people bent on active and profitable pursuits. These descriptive expressions are his own, being taken straight from his sayings and writings. It was instructive as well as amusing to accompany him in his walks during the early morning hours amidst the suburbs of Calcutta. He would observe every Native garden that we passed, talking about the natural habitat, culture and uses of the trees or plants. He would often stop at the wayside booths

or shops, discussing the manufacture, prices and style of the wares. He would note the carts, drawn by bullocks and laden with produce, on their way to the capital, also the men and women carrying head-loads of articles to market. Then he would ever and anon exclaim that the country seemed bursting, as it were, with vitality and industry. The fairs which were held almost daily in various places, and more especially the central market of Calcutta, offered to him an extensive scope for economic reflection. He would watch the piece-goods and fancy-wares from Europe, the Oriental stuffs made in far-off cities, the flowers and vegetables brought by railway from gardens distant hundreds of miles, the game snared or shot in forests and marshes. He regarded all these goods, indeed, with the eye of an economist, in reference to their uses, but having a lively imagination he recognised their beauty also. If a thing seemed beautiful he felt all the more zealous in promoting its usefulness ; if a thing was useful he appreciated it the better from its being beautiful also."

Among his many attainments Sir Richard Temple was a good artist, and he recognised in my father's temperament those sensibilities which were in sympathy with the artistic side of his own.

"Having been from the first imbued with the principles of unrestricted freedom in trade, he loved to speculate upon the moral advantages arising from the interchange of produce, which were in their way as great as the material advantages. Trade, he would say, is a great agency for securing peace and charity among men in all parts of the earth, enlarging the minds of diverse Nations, raising their thoughts beyond petty jealousy, softening their mutual animosities, and uniting them by the bonds of goodwill and of common interest. I once heard him press strongly this view regarding commerce upon the Scotch missionary, Alexander Duff, who had one morning paid a formal visit, and was adverting to the importance of cultivating kindly relations with the Natives.

"Wilson's intellect was essentially methodical in its habits, ever searching for first principles or fundamental

axioms, and then applying them to practice and to actual circumstances. He was fond of trying practical dicta by the test of principle ; if principle and practice failed to agree, he would deem that there must be some error in one or other of them, or perhaps in the application of one to the other. A principle, he thought, which is sound in one country must be equally sound in another ; if after having succeeded in one place it is found to fail elsewhere, the failure does not prove its unsoundness, but only shows that it must have been erroneously applied to unsuitable circumstances. He apprehended that there was danger of administrative science, as established in the most civilised countries, being disregarded in India because Indian conditions are strange. While he was, to this extent, theoretical, he was far from being unpractical ; on the contrary, he was eminently practical. His principles lay deep in his mind, but in respect to practice he was ever studying the variety of circumstances, keeping his imagination open for the reception of the new ideas to be derived from the facts as recently learnt, and from the phenomena as freshly perceived. He was most anxious to understand India, not as she had been supposed to be, or as she ought to have become, but as she actually was. While keeping in recollection the broad traits of human nature, as common to mankind in all times and places, he was especially desirous to realise to himself the idiosyncrasies, aptitudes and tendencies, even the prejudices, of the Natives. Although the people had to be led gently towards the paths of economic science, yet he wished to show the tenderest consideration towards the thoughts and sentiments springing from their historic antecedents. He hoped also to evince that moderation and restraint which befitted the peculiar position of the British as foreign masters of an eastern empire.

“Such in brief was Wilson, the first scientific economist who had ever visited India. He probably learnt more of the Country in a very short time, than any person who ever landed on its shores, and his general information extended daily.”

CHAPTER XXXI

BUDGET

ON February 18 my father brought forward his Budget in the Legislative Council at Calcutta. Bagehot wrote in the *Economist* of March 24 :

“ Mr. Wilson showed that the real Indian deficit was £4,060,809, and, including home charges, was £9,016,909. He had, then, more than a £9,000,000 deficit to cover. We extract from the *Bombay Gazette* the following :

“ “ On Saturday, February 18, Mr. Wilson rose in his place in the Legislative Council to make the statement about which England and India have been vainly speculating for the last six months. The demand for tickets to be present on the occasion seems to have been quite unprecedented in Calcutta, and, indeed, the people of the Metropolis are now beginning to enjoy something of the excitement of Parliamentary life.’ ”

My father wrote to Bagehot from Government House, February 22, 1860 :

“ They yield. I brought forward my budget on Saturday. I cannot say with much doubt of its success, but it was certainly rather audacious. For six months they had been discussing whether they should have an Income Tax, or a License Tax, or a Tobacco Duty, and I have given them all three, and so far from grumbling, all parties are rather vying with each other in its support. *The Englishman*, the rabid opponent of Government, is now the loudest in approval. *The Friend of India*, you will see, is, for him, very complimentary, and all the other papers approve ; no one opposes. Even the Bengal

Zemindars, who have seen their pretensions to exemption swept away for ever, approve. All these Bills will pass without opposition. I also begin to see my way very clear to some very large reductions. The prosperity of the country is great, and its repose and tranquillity beyond precedent. The heavy hand of power shown during the Mutiny, and the great moderation pursued since, have effectually calmed everything. I shall be curious to see how the English papers will pick me to pieces.

“ You must deal with my speech and my policy as you think best, without thinking of *me* at all. At this distance I may be treated as a stranger.”

Walter Bagehot published in the *Economist* these extracts from my father’s speech :

“ SIR,

“ I am fearful of wearying the Council with all these details, but I trust you will bear with me. We have a grave conjunction of affairs to deal with. I think you will already begin to perceive that the evil is deeper and broader than at first it appeared. I think you will begin to see that our task will be heavier and must extend to great questions of finance. You will, therefore, I am sure, pardon me if I feel it to be my duty, to the best of my ability, to unbare before you the whole extent of the evils as they present themselves to my mind. Sir, I sincerely trust that in the free observations which I feel compelled in the performance of my duty to make I shall be understood not to reflect unfavourably either upon any individual or upon any class. It is to the system, and the system alone, that I refer. Nay, I will say more. It has been a matter of surprise to me that with so defective a system greater evils have not arisen, and that they have not I attribute only to individual zeal and care.

“ But, Sir, there is one point upon which I must remark. Until we have one central point of responsible control of Army finances, as of all others, established, it will be in vain to expect great reduction. Our first

course must be to consider carefully what force is sufficient, and not more than sufficient. Our next point must be to have carefully revised estimates, what is here improperly called a Budget System, for military and all other charges, submitted to the Supreme Government annually, as they are in England to Parliament, to sanction only what is necessary, and strictly to keep every province and every department within their limits. Till you have this central financial and revenue control, it is in vain to look for economy ; when you have it, you may safely give much greater executive responsibility to local authority. Sir, in England there is more local government than in any other country in the world ; but there is no country where the central authority and control of the Government itself is so strong. And, I will add, that it will be in vain that we make improvements and reforms in our finances if these administrative reforms do not take place. You must rely upon a sound system if you will have permanency, and not upon any individual, especially in a country where individuals change so rapidly. Sir, this is nothing new. You have had Finance Commissions over and over again. What have they done ? In looking over the archives of the Government of India, I must say that the minutes left on record of no Governor-General have struck me with more force than those of Lord Ellenborough, and they have induced me to regret that his stay in India had not been longer. That noble Lord is a distinguished member of a great party, always opposed to that with which I have had the honour of acting, and my testimony may therefore be regarded as impartial. Sir, that noble Lord saw and understood the evil of which I speak ; he warned the Court of Directors of it.

“ On the 7th of August, 1842, he (Lord Ellenborough) wrote as follows :

“ But I cannot hold from the Honourable Court the expression of my decided and long-formed opinion, that whatever diminution may be made by my exertions in the amount of expenditure will only be of a temporary

character, without an entire change in the financial department, and some very material modification of the system of carrying on the Government. There is now no one officer charged with the duty of viewing the expenditure of the State as a whole, and of considering every proposed or existing item of charge, not by itself only, but with reference to the total charge upon the revenue.

“ ‘ Without this concentration of duty and authority in a really responsible officer, I have no hope of giving permanence to the influence of economical principles in the financial administration of India, or of even dealing satisfactorily with the details of expenditure.’ ”

Lord Canning writes:

“ MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

“ I received your letter of the 20th yesterday—just in time to enable me to read your speech in the corrected copy which accompanied it instead of the newspapers.

“ It is excellent, and I congratulate you on it, and thank you for the excellent service which it cannot fail to do for us.

“ You know already that I am completely satisfied with the footing upon which the Income Tax provisions place the Zemindar.

“ I think I mentioned my doubt as to the one per cent. set apart for Local purposes (but I have not got my letters at hand to refer to). I should like to know from you why you think that the appropriation of a part of the proceeds will be acceptable—or whether there is any other reason for introducing it. Are the purposes to which this one per cent. is to be applied different from those which the existing Local Funds are supplying? The facility and cheerfulness with which, generally speaking, the Local taxes are now collected is very remarkable; and as at present advised I do not see why the object upon which they are spent should not have been left to be provided for as heretofore. The one per

cent. would be no equivalent for them if they were to be abandoned. I do not think that it is needed as an increase to them. And the coming upon the people for Local Contributions in two forms will not be very intelligible to them. I should like to hear from you on this point.

“As to Tolls I should have no objection to their abolition on the Trunk Road if I saw my way to doing this with fairness to other parts of India—although I do not attach much weight to the objection that by reason of the great distances at which the Toll bars stand from each other the burden of them falls unequally. The fact is that the Trunk Road is comparatively little used by the inhabitants of the villages and small towns in their communications with each other. The traffic is mostly long traffic between the great cities; and an interval of 40 miles or so between two bars does not therefore operate so capriciously as it might seem to do.

“But how can we separate the relief of the Trunk Road traffic from tolls from a like relief to the traffic on other roads?

“I believe that in Madras tolls exist upon many more roads than in Bengal. I have no means of verifying this in camp, but you will probably be able to do so through Mr. Forbes. I do not know that Madras has any one road which can be called its Trunk Road,—unless it be that to Bangalore,—but it certainly possesses several roads of great importance to its trade, and I do not see how we can stop short of relieving the traffic on these if we relieve the traffic up and down Bengal. So also with Bombay. I should like therefore to know what the whole consequences of an abolition of the Tolls on the Trunk Road of Bengal will be before deciding on the proposal.

“In speaking of the Gt. Trunk Road you no doubt include its main branches :—the roads to Agra on one side and to Meerut on the other, as well as the main central Trunk to Delhi.

"I shall add that I quite admit the force of the objection which is based upon the cost of collection.

"I must close this, or I may miss the post.

"Ever sincerely yrs.,

"CANNING.

"The RT. HON. JAS. WILSON."

My father received the following letters from home after the triumphant reception of his Budget.

From the Prince Consort—after his having also received my father's Bill for a paper currency in India :

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have received copies of your Financial statement and of your speech on introducing a Bill for a Paper Currency in India, for which I beg you to accept my very best thanks. You have in both treated most important but most difficult questions in a masterly manner which would not have been possible but for your strong belief in the unalterable truths of the laws of political economy taught by abstract science. India is a wide field for their application and I trust that local peculiarities, habits or prejudices may not prove impediments for their successful working.

"Believe me always yours truly,

"ALBERT.

"WINDSOR CASTLE,

"April 16, 1860.

"The RIGHT HON. JAMES WILSON."

Robert Lowe writes :

"All your friends must be glad that you went out. You have acted like a good Political Economist—brought the commodity in which you deal to the spot where it is most appreciated and certainly most wanted. Pray remember me very kindly to Lord Canning and Outram and believe me always,

"Very truly yours,

"R. LOWE."

"INDIA OFFICE,
"26 March, 1860.

"DEAR WILSON,

"I have received to-day and read with great admiration your letter and speech. You have certainly initiated your appearance in the Legislative Council most successfully, and I am very glad indeed that you have made so full and ample a statement. It seems to me to be very right to give the whole truth to the public, and I believe you will reap the fruits of it. I will have your figures looked over here, but you will see from the statement which I sent in my third letter of to-day that substantially we agree. I think you have done much to obviate the objections to the Income Tax in the offer provided by the mode of levy. Indeed I do not see how you could have made a disagreeable thing so little disagreeable. . . . You were quite right to act without waiting for any further communication with us. I sent you in a somewhat undigested form the result of the conflicting opinions of my council. You have now had before you all that it was desirable you should know, and you have very properly decided for yourselves. You are the proper people to decide and you have done so.

"You may now depend upon our support in all your scheme.

"Yours truly,
"C. WOOD."

"TREASURY,
"26 March, 1860.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"I have only time to congratulate you, which I do very sincerely, on the very successful and triumphant commencement of your great task.

"I have been in communication with Sir Ch. Wood upon your note circulation scheme, and I suppose that you will receive his dispatch on the subject by this mail.

"Very faithfully yours,
"G. ARBUTHNOT."

"TUNBRIDGE WELLS,
"9 April, 1860.

"MY DEAR WILSON,

"After hearing a thousand and one comments, good bad and indifferent upon your elaborate scheme for the financial regeneration of India, and the elaborate harangue by which it was inaugurated, I have brought the document itself down to this quiet retirement before I venture my say upon so weighty a matter. Judging from the general organs of public and private opinion, I may say unreservedly that it has been accepted as a most decided success. Some disappointment may probably be felt at the comparatively small sum which is indicated as the result of a broad and comprehensive reform. . . . But upon the whole I think I may say that your measures have produced a strong and decided feeling of satisfaction among all classes who take interest in Indian affairs. Even Robt. L. . . e says 'it is a very able paper, devilish clever,' and Sir C. Wood walks about as proud as a Peacock with two tails.

"I read your speech as an outline, indicative of what will hereafter possibly be done, and I think it disarms criticism and commands admiration : it is as remarkable for the prudence, modesty and sobriety of its character as for the intelligence and soundness of its views, it is every way worthy of your talents and experience. I wish I could say as much for our much vaunted home financial statement.

"Your faithful friend,
"GEO. MOFFATT."

"1, LITTLE RUSSELL STREET
"CALCUTTA,
"March 22nd, 1860.

"MY DEAR WALTER,

"I have your letter of the 15th February, this time perfectly legible and clear though on the same paper and with the same ink apparently. I write very hurriedly. I send you as a curiosity a copy of my speech translated into Hindustani or *Oordoo*—the general language of

educated persons in India. By the bye, the publication of my speech has been a great novelty and a great success to the Printer. It is said he has made a profit of more than £1,000 by the two including the Currency one. The publisher of the native version, another printer, has also sold many thousand copies. The English copy was sold at 4/- a copy. All the papers that come from Bombay, Madras, and other places continue in the same tone, but what is far more important our best local officers everywhere highly approve and seem to have risen to the mark.

"I have not yet seen Gladstone's speech *in extenso* but it seems to have been a great success. But surely the scheme as a whole is open to many just criticisms. This great multiplicity of charges on trade, however small, is not practically a wise thing. The 'penny' mania is being ridden too hard. I suspect such a Budget in Disraeli's hands would have turned out the Govt. in a week. As far as I have seen of it, it is a greater proof of the influence of rhetorical ability rather than of sound and sober measures. But I will get his speech and read it as a whole.

"I must carefully look over your recent letters and reply to them by an early mail. You can well understand how much occupied I am, and to add to my troubles we have just been moving in here.

"I am without any Daily Paper. Please to order for me the *Evening Mail* which is the condensed *Times* published *three* times a week. Perhaps you would ask Mr. Herbert to collect from the different papers the criticisms upon my Indian measures—they may be useful as showing the tone of English opinion.

"We are all very well. I never was on the whole *so well*. But the hot weather is coming and I don't know how we shall fare. We have a large airy roomy house and every comfort that London could afford.

"With love to all,

"JAMES WILSON.

"WALTER BAGEHOT, Esq."

" 23rd February, 1860.

" DEAR WALTER,

" I wrote to you yesterday with copies of my speech. I write to-day to explain what I find out is the real source of the enthusiasm, for no other word would express the fact, with which my schemes have been received. Yesterday some of the chief merchants called upon me and said, ' Now, Sir, we know what to be about. We have never seen such *heart*. We never had any *knowledge* before, and therefore we could not have *confidence*. When we contemplated transactions for the future we always felt in a terror that some sudden unforeseen financial disaster would upset us by making a light moving market. Now we see our way clear upon public matters as we do upon our own. We would gladly have paid double what you take for such a boon.' This is their language and one can understand it.

" They added too, ' The policy inaugurated holds out to us indefinite extension of trade, especially as we see the firm hand with which the Government will be carried on.' "

In Sir H. S. Cunningham's " Earl Canning," he writes : " Lord Canning considered it desirable to obtain the assistance of an English financier whose experience and prestige would inspire confidence and overrule opposition. The appointment of Mr. James Wilson fulfilled these conditions. His experience as Secretary to the Board of Control, as Financial Secretary to the Treasury, and at the time of his Indian appointment as Vice-President of the Board of Trade, invested his opinion with all the desired authority. . . .

" Mr. Wilson's Budget is memorable in the chronicles of Indian administration as having enunciated principles which have since been accepted canons of financial policy. . . . Another point of importance, as to which Mr. Wilson's Budget sounded no uncertain note, was

the claim, put forward in influential official quarters, for the exemption of Madras and Bombay Presidencies from the additional taxation necessitated by the Mutiny, on the ground that their armies had not shared in the insurrection. Mr. Wilson treated this narrow and unstatesmanlike pretension with the contempt which it deserved. The Indian Empire must, he pointed out, be looked at as a whole. Such expenses as that of suppressing the Mutiny were essentially imperial, and the attempt to localise them could only be justified on the ground of a narrow and baneful provincialism. 'We are one great dependency under one Sovereign, and we have one clear duty before us—to unite with all our efforts and all our means in maintaining her Empire prosperous and inviolate.'

"Another point which Mr. Wilson's Budget raised and decided was the liability of the Bengal landholders, under the Permanent Settlement, to the general taxation of the country. The concession to them by the State of the right to hold their lands at settled rates has sometimes been put forward as justifying a claim to exemption from other burdens common to the entire community. The Finance Minister now distinctly declared this contention to be unsustainable. He showed, from Lord Cornwallis' Minutes, that no such exemption was contemplated by the framers of the Permanent Settlement; and he pointed out how unsound and dangerous a policy it would be to relieve the richest and most privileged class in India from its lawful share in the national expenditure, and how essential it was, in the general interest of the country, to adhere strictly to the rule laid down by Lord Cornwallis, that 'all who enjoy the protection of the State must pay for it in accordance with their means.'

"In matters of structural reform Mr. Wilson principally insisted on the creation of efficient machinery for controlling, and so diminishing, military outlay. No means for any such outlay being controlled at present existed."

Many Rajahs wrote addresses with eulogies of my father's measures, the following being one:

“ TO THE RIGHT HONBLE. JAMES WILSON,
 &c. &c. &c.

“ RIGHT HONORABLE SIR,

“ We regret with our President his inability on account of ill-health to attend on this occasion.

“ We have come here, Sir, to tender to you personally, what our President has already done in his letter of the 2nd inst., our hearty welcome on your arrival in this City, and to express to you our sincere pleasure at this assumption of your important office.

“ We cannot allow this opportunity to pass without again conveying to you the unfeigned gratification we have felt in perusing your late speeches in England in which you so forcibly advocated an enlightened and liberal policy in the Govt. of this great Dependency of the British Crown.

“ Impressed with the belief that the object of Govt. is to promote the well-being of the people at large, our Association has always endeavoured to advance that end by all legitimate and constitutional means, and we have therefore specially rejoiced to find among your late declarations that, whatever measures it may be your duty to propose for the administration of India, they will be based upon a consideration of the principles of our common human nature and a regard for justice and the happiness of the people, such as may draw them to British rule ‘ with the bonds of affection, peace, unity, and good citizenship.’

“ The records of our Association will, we trust, show that our efforts have been directed, not we hope without some success, to the promotion of good Govt. by representing to the authorities, here and in England, the wants, opinions, and feelings of our countrymen in respect to questions of public policy, which have from time to time engaged the attention of the society.

“ We do not consider this a fitting occasion to enter

into the discussion of any measure connected with the Govt. of this Country ; but we beg leave to state that we shall esteem it a privilege if we can be of any service to you in elucidating any subject of public interest which may come within the scope and object of our Association.

" I am,

" Right Honble Sir,

" Your Most Obedt^t Servant,

" KALIKRISHNA,

" *Raja, V.P.*"

Mr. George Moffatt writes from London, February 27, 1860 :

" Gladstone's Budget will amuse if it does not instruct—it breaks itself into four compartments.

" 1.

" 2.

" 3. New system of penny Taxation upon various operations of Traders and some charges for removal under Bond that would—if maintained—put an end to the beneficial operation of that system which you were at so much pains to extend and perfect.

" 4.

" I think they might have compelled Mr. Gladstone to withdraw that portion of his Budget—which perhaps, after all, *he* intended as a delicate compliment to *you*. . . . Cobden is reposing upon his Laurels at Cannes—which he will quit so soon as the East wind sets in : he is still in very delicate health. He returns to Paris, for five or six weeks sojourn before coming back to England, where an ovation and a second edition of the 1846/47 subscription awaits him.

" Tell me unreservedly of your health."

It was during the above-named visit to Paris that Mr. Cobden effected the famous commercial treaty with Louis Napoleon and Fould. While there he wrote to my father :

" PARIS,

" 19 Jan., 1860.

" MY DEAR WILSON,

" The bearer, M. Constantine de Ryschkan, a Russian gentleman who has travelled in almost every part of the globe, is about to visit Calcutta for the purpose of extending his tour into the interior of India. As he travels solely for the purpose of intelligent observation, and with a view to scientific and artistic employment and enjoyment, I hope you will give him any facility in your power, and pray protect him against any of that suspicion and illiberality with which we good English are so prone to regard everyone who can be proved to be a Russian.

" Yours truly,

" RD. COBDEN."

On March 3 my father introduced—for the first time in India—the scheme of a Government currency in India. It may be remembered that Mr. Bonamy Price (fifteen years professor of political economy at Oxford, author of "Currency and Banking," "Principles of Currency") wrote of my father's scheme for India: "Never before were scientific power and practical political talent so combined as in Wilson: and the last Indian Minute was the glory of his life." Mr. Bonamy Price had wished to write fully in order "to set forth the power, the truth and the accuracy of that unrivalled paper currency."

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE MADRAS MUTINY

As the foregoing letters testify, the Budget was unanimously recognised as a great success. A deplorable act, however—an act of self-opinionated rashness, recklessly unconstitutional, blindly oblivious of its inevitably disastrous effect, turned the tide of opinion from approval to criticism, increasing thereby the difficulties of my father's colossal task, not two-fold, but incalculably.

"The reception of Mr. Wilson's Budget was universally favourable until the publication of the minute of Sir C. Trevelyan, which, as was inevitable, produced a serious reaction. Heavy taxation can never be very pleasant, and in the Presidency of Madras Sir Charles gave the sanction of the Government—of the highest authority the people saw—to the hope that they would not be taxed. The prompt recall of Sir Charles, however, did much to convince the natives of the firm determination of the English Government, and Mr. Wilson hoped that the ordeal of criticism through which his measures had to pass would ultimately be favourable to them. It certainly secured them from the accusation of being prepared in haste, but it purchased this benefit at the loss to the public of much precious time, and to Mr. Wilson of precious health. Of the substance of this minute it is sufficient to say that its fundamental theory that additional taxation of any sort was unnecessary in India, has scarcely been believed by anyone except its author" (Sir Charles Trevelyan). "Almost everyone has deemed it too satisfactory to be true."¹

¹ *Memoir.*

My father did not at first recognise how deep-seated was the mischief wrought by—to use Walter Bagehot's words—this “monstrous act of misjudgment and insubordination” on the part of Sir Charles Trevelyan. My father's sanguine temperament, his complete confidence in the soundness of his measures, based, as they were, on the fixed principles of Economy, and his having no personal experience of the intricate and subtle character of the Indian nature, led him to hope that this obstruction raised to the success of his measures would be sooner removed than it actually was.

On May 9 Walter Bagehot wrote to my sister from London :

“I have read Sir C. Trevelyan. He says your father will cause a rebellion and that all his laws are unnecessary. Mr. Lowe thinks your father's Budget masterly.”

It was said by one who had known him at the Treasury, “Sir Charles Trevelyan suffers under an inordinate belief in the superiority of his own conscientiousness over that of his superiors.” W. R. Greg, who was well acquainted with him, expressed the same opinion of Sir Charles Trevelyan in a more epigrammatic form, but in language hardly sufficiently parliamentary to be quoted.

On April 18 my father wrote to Bagehot :

“You will doubtless see the Minutes of all the members of the Madras Government, but you are hardly likely to know, as it has not yet appeared in the papers, that Sir C. Trevelyan managed to get the whole set of Minutes in circulation without the consent of his Council; however much they might wish to stand well with him, we hear they don't like appearing before the world as obstructive yet impotent councillors, and in consequence have remonstrated with him. This, however, I observe, is the usual way with him : his Council always object and remonstrate, and he finishes by ordering just what he likes.”

The following extract from the *Economist*, written by

Bagehot, explains the disastrous course Sir Charles Trevelyan had thought fit to take respecting the measures of the Central Government of India :

May 12, 1860. " Sir Charles Trevelyan has entered on the Minutes of the Madras Presidency an elaborate protest against Mr. Wilson's scheme of finance. We greatly lament the publication of this document in India, and are apprehensive of its consequences. We scarcely know how the natives of India are to be governed, if one of our rulers tells them they ought not to be taxed, and the rest of their rulers tell them they *shall* be taxed. But in this country it is very important that we should hear all that can be said against Mr. Wilson's plans as well as all that can be said for them, and Sir Charles Trevelyan's recall does not render it the less necessary that we should examine fully the nature of his objections. Indian finance is a very difficult subject, and though the Minute of Sir Charles Trevelyan is rather too like a political pamphlet, we may overlook the defects of its form. We believe the publication of it will tend to strengthen the confidence which is at present felt in the soundness of Mr. Wilson's plans. On a subject so vast and so little investigated as Indian finance, we could not be sure that there were not some considerations which we had wholly overlooked. We have now heard everything which can be said against Mr. Wilson's scheme by a very competent and seemingly not reluctant critic; if he has discovered no conclusive objection to them, it is very unlikely that any such objection can be found.

" It will be remembered that Mr. Wilson found the deficit in India larger than he expected. It was £9,000,000 last year, and will probably be £6,500,000 this year. To meet this formidable deficit he imposed three taxes—an income tax, a license tax, and a tobacco tax. Sir Charles's criticism on these taxes is distinct enough. He says, first, that they are unjust as respects a great part of India; secondly, that they are unnecessary; lastly, that they will cause a rebellion. We will take these objections one after another. . . .

“ Sir C. Trevelyan thinks there is danger in the course Mr. Wilson has taken. But is there not greater danger in his own course ? He has told the natives of Madras that new taxes which are unjust and unnecessary are about to be levied upon them. He has used his authority as local Governor to spread this doctrine. He has hinted that he expects the natives will rebel. Who will be to blame if they do rebel ? Surely the ruler who was entrusted with an authority over 30,000,000 of people, and who incited them to resistance.”

Bagehot published in the *Economist*, August 18, 1860, an important minute, written by Sir Bartle Frere, refuting statements which had been made to the effect that my father's scheme of taxation was that of one who was trying to force purely English measures on to a people to whom they were unsuited.

“ *Indian Finance* ”

“ Minute by the Hon. Sir H. B. E. Frere, dated 24th April, 1860, showing that the taxes now proposed to be levied in India are in accordance with the practice of the natives themselves.

• “ There is one point in the objections which have been raised to Mr. Wilson's financial measures which it seems to me has been hardly sufficiently noticed, and which, indeed, I should scarcely have thought required elaborate refutation, had it not been taken up by the Press in some parts of India, and by the British Indian (Zemindars) Association in the petition which was presented to the Legislative Council on Saturday last, and urged in terms so plausible as to mislead all but those who are intimately acquainted with native modes of taxation.

“ I allude to the assertion that Mr. Wilson's scheme is entirely ‘ on the English model ’ ; that ‘ the taxes he proposes are utterly unsuited to India ’ ; that ‘ his plan embraces the introduction into India of direct taxation ’ (as if it were a perfect novelty) ‘ calculated to arouse all

the natives' latent feelings of opposition.' That it is, in fact, such a plan as a man acquainted only with England and English modes of taxation would devise, and which anyone acquainted with India and Indian modes of taxation would reject as impossible or dangerous.

"But how stands the fact? It would be far nearer the truth to say the taxes proposed by Mr. Wilson are in principle, and in most of their details, similar to taxes which are almost universal throughout all native States in India, which date from the earliest periods of Indian history, which have never been given up to any considerable extent by any Indian Government till we conquered the country, and that the scheme Mr. Wilson has devised for restoring the equilibrium of our finances is precisely such as would commend itself to the judgment of any experienced native financier. No notice is taken of the fact that, during the present discussion, no scheme of fresh taxation has hitherto been propounded by anyone, native or European, which would bear a moment's examination, which has not included some form of direct taxation, all more or less partial, inadequate to our wants, or otherwise more objectionable than that selected by Mr. Wilson—but all direct taxes, and generally in some form, more or less cumbersome, taxes on incomes—such taxes, in fact, being, from the earliest times, component parts of all native schemes of finance.

"It seems to be forgotten that up to 1834-6, taxes on incomes, trades and professions were levied almost universally throughout British India under various names, and that they were then abolished in parts of Bengal and throughout the North-Western Provinces and Bombay, not because they were in theory bad taxes, but because they were so unfairly assessed and unequally levied, that it was difficult to reform them in their then existing shape. Many able men then advocated their retention, after a thorough reform; but they were not then needed.

"Altogether, I doubt whether there is any part of

India where an income tax and taxes on arts, trades and professions, are as much a novelty as the income tax was in England when revised by Sir Robert Peel ; certainly there is none where such taxes are as new to the people as the income tax was in England, when first proposed by Mr. Pitt as a regular part of his financial system.

(Signed) " H. B. E. FRERE.

" 24th April, 1860."

Though a stranger to my father, a Civil Servant who had studied and lived much with natives wrote to him the following :

" PATNA, 1860.

" DEAR SIR,

" I am about to offer you some information that may be useful at the present crisis—and my motive (the sincere and ardent desire to strengthen the hands of one, whose enlightened policy has opened out new prospects and higher hopes for this benighted land) must be my excuse for trespassing on your time. . . . I was Commissioner of Patna when the rebellion commenced. . . . A native worships power and falls prostrate before decision, precisely as a child or a spaniel. . With classes, as with individuals, the slightest vacillation or appearance of fear is fatal, and generates the opposition which would otherwise have never reared its head. . The delay and discussion has already done harm, and if Sir C. Trevelyan had not been summarily recalled, the mischief would have been irremediable. . If I can ever be of service to you, or supply you with any information, it will afford me sincere pleasure. I have studied with heartfelt delight and admiration the exposition of your large and enlightened views, and most devoutly trust that when your financial schemes have been successfully carried out, you will bring all your powers to bear upon the other departments of this unhealthy administration. .

" I am faithfully yours,

" WILLIAM TAYLER."

To Bagehot my father wrote :

“ CALCUTTA,
“ 4 July, 1860.

“ MY DEAR WALTER,

“ You will think I have used you very badly in remaining so long silent, but I have scarcely written a private letter for months. My time and mind have been so absorbed in Indian affairs that I have had capacity for nothing else. It seems almost as if I had known nothing but India all my life. With regard to the great Madras revolt I have probably been the calmest spectator either here or at home. From the first I anticipated trouble from him, and warned my colleagues of the danger, and our confidential despatch of 9th April was written by me in consequence of my apprehensions. But it was all in vain. I expected trouble from him, but never that he would proceed to such extremities. I tell you confidentially, and I have told it to others years ago, that I consider poor Trevelyan scarcely accountable for his actions. He has so impulsive a mind, so ill balanced, with such an overweening confidence in himself, no matter what the subject might be, equally to command a squadron, lead an army, or regenerate the civil Government of a country : with a large smattering upon everything but profound in nothing ; with a dull apprehension but the most dogged obstinacy I ever saw : and with an inordinate vanity and love of notoriety to be gratified ; without the slightest judgment or discretion or forethought, or calculation of consequences : all these characteristics lead a man so heedlessly into danger and control him so completely as to leave him hardly a responsible being. The danger of leaving him in a place of such trust was every day visible, and there are many in Madras who openly say that the security obtained by his recall is worth the mischief produced by his Minute.

“ As soon as we received his Minute our line was taken at once. I saw it would never do to make any reply to him. In the first place his tone was un-

becoming and insulting : in the next, while he had every right to offer opinions he had no right to impugn the motives of his superiors. So we replied that we must decline any controversy but that our observations would be made to the Sec^y of State. And when I found that he had published it even before it was in our hands, I came at once to the conclusion that a firm and decisive front was our only policy, but accompanied by great temperance and moderation. I felt quite confident all would come right. Our despatches to the Sec^y of State will do more to unveil the real character of Indian Finance than all that has been within the last four years. I hope they will all be presented to Parl^t. The astounding thing in Trevelyan's case was that he wrote in utter ignorance of the facts. I verily believe that he thought our Military expenditure was £9,000,000 odd above 1856-7, and he had no conception of the state of our civil expenditure. But much as I was prepared for trouble from him, and easy as I took it when it came, I own it was very annoying. Up to that moment there was not a dissenting voice. The Measures were received with acclamation : but upon the whole I doubt if the ordeal of discussion to which they have now been exposed will be without its advantages. I cannot say that I feel less practically secure than I did before. What we have to do is to show no hesitation. Firmness and justice are the only policy for India. No vacillation or you are gone. They like to be governed and respect an iron hand if it be but equal and just. I have I think more confidence than ever that the taxes will be established and collected without disturbance. But the task is still an enormous one. I must retrench yet at least $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions and get the same sum from my new taxes to make ends meet. I am putting the screw on very strongly, but rather by an improved policy in Army and Navy than by reduction of salaries and establishments which cannot be made. I have set myself *four* great points of policy to introduce and carry out.

“ 1. To extend a system of sound taxation to the

great trading classes who have hitherto been exempted, though chiefly benefited by our enormously increased civil expenditure.

“ 2. To establish a Paper Currency.

“ 3. To reform and remodel our financial system by a plan of annual Budgets and Estimates, with a Pay Department to check issues and keep them within the authorised limits, and an effective audit.

“ 4. A great Police system of a semi-military but usually of purely civil application, which, dear though it will be, will be cheaper by half a million than our present wretched and expensive system, and by which we shall be able to reduce our native army by at least one-third, and by which alone we can utilise the natives as an arm of defence, without the danger of congregated idle organised masses.

“ 5. Public works and roads with a view to increased production of cotton, flax, wool, and European raw materials. The four first I have made great progress in ; the latter must follow. But you will call it a very large order. However you have no idea of the increased capacity of the mind for undertaking a special service of this kind, when removed to a new scene of action, and when one throws off all the cares and engagements more or less trivial by which one is surrounded in ordinary life, and throws one's whole soul into such special service, and particularly when one feels assured of having the power to carry it out. I cannot tell you with what ease one determines the largest and gravest question here compared with in England, and I am certain that the more one can exercise real power, there is by far the greater tendency to moderation, care, and prudence.

“ My colleagues are in every respect what I could wish. Lord Canning has a very competent mind, is open to conviction whatever his views may have been at first. Sir James Outram is a man of the highest honour with the least self-seeking I have ever seen in any man : and Sir B. Frere is one of the most competent, clear-headed, original-thinking and amiable men I ever knew. We have not

had an approach to a disagreeable word since my arrival. If we have differed, a friendly discussion has brought all right.

“But the thing which has disturbed me most has been the necessity for Mrs. Wilson to go away to the Madras Hills. You will have heard all about it. The real question is about Julia and Emmy. In her last letter she says, ‘Have you been able to think of an arrangement for Julia and Emmy?’ From this it would appear she has not made up her mind that it will be necessary for her to go home. So I hope she will write sufficiently definitely for you to be able to act upon by the next Mail.

“About the *Economist* and your threatened opposition. I am very glad to see that in every way it holds its own so well : its writing is certainly as a whole very good and its views sound. One number only I complained of because it consisted in a great measure of an extract from my speech and another from my Minute. The more I see of life and public life, the less I like to see my name prominently to documents. Throughout the late contest I never put anything in the shape of a Minute but always in the form of a despatch from the whole Govt. It removes that unhappy personal characteristic to all public proceedings which Trevelyan could not resist ; the passion of seeing C. E. Trevelyan to documents has been his ruin. So pray say nothing and admit nothing, that looks like a personal puff or undue pushing forward of me. The way you have treated the Trevelyan matter was fair, reasonable, and dignified. But to return to the *Economist* and the opposition. I don’t fear the opposition but I am sorry you lose your City correspondent. But it won’t answer, and in six months he will come back if you can make room for him. My advice would be take no notice whatever of it : if they try to goad you into controversy don’t be tempted. It will only give them importance. And by this means you will not make an enemy of any one connected with it. I have seen this tried before : it is almost impossible it can succeed. All you can do is to keep a good lookout, as you and

Hutton have done, and go on the even tenor of your way. Do you remember Gladstone's onslaught on Lewis for 'disinterring old Arthur Young' to prove that taxes were least felt when they rested upon many points? When I saw the numerous little imposts I could not but remember that speech. One of the best speeches Lewis ever made was against the reduction of the wine duties.

"Tell Greg that I will write to him soon.

"Yours very truly,

"JAMES WILSON.

"P.S. William's position is as my private Sec^y and assistant Com^r for Paper Currency, Temple, the *great Temple*, being gazetted as my chief assistant and chief Com^r of Paper Currency."

The view my father took that certain qualities in Sir Charles Trevelyan's character made him hardly accountable for his actions appears to be borne out by what happened two years after my father's death. Had his fatal opposition to my father's measures when jeopardising the peace of our Indian Empire by revolting against the Central governing control been based on any sound principle, or well-thought-out conviction, he could hardly, with any vestige of consistency, have been prepared, after two years, to carry out those measures himself. The following correspondence proves that he was fully prepared to do so.

To our amazement—and, I must add, pain—Sir Charles Wood in 1862 appointed Sir Charles Trevelyan to the post of Finance Minister for India.

In the *Economist* of November 8, 1862, Walter Bagehot wrote :

"The appointment of Sir C. Trevelyan as Finance Minister of India must awaken recollections in the face of which the conductors of this journal cannot profess to be impartial. They had weighed well whether on such a subject it would be advisable for them to say anything, but they think that it would be best for them to say a few words.

“ There is but little need to refer to the publication by Sir Charles Trevelyan of the now celebrated Madras despatches, and his consequent recall by the Secretary of State for India. He was then recalled, not for erroneous doctrines in finance, not for a single doctrine which he avowed, or a single doctrine which he combated, but for palpable and plain insubordination. There is, and must be, a supreme Government in India ; Mr. Wilson was, for the time, the authorised and recognised organ of that Government. Sir Charles Trevelyan resisted that Government, and revolted against the policy of Mr. Wilson, and he has paid the inevitable penalty.

“ The publication of the Madras despatches was a monstrous act of misjudgment and insubordination, but it was only an aggravated outbreak of an inherent disposition. Sir Charles Trevelyan has many eminent qualities,—great acuteness, great industry, an ardent though ill-regulated public zeal,—but he never was a safe man ; he never had a sound and simple judgment ; from vanity or from some better motive, he has never been very willing to confine himself to his proper sphere, especially when it was a subordinate one. These are the very opposite qualities to those which India requires in the situation to which he has been appointed. . . .”

Referring to this article, Bagehot received the following letter from Sir Charles Wood :

“ Secretary of State for India in Council.

“ INDIA OFFICE,
“ 28th November, 1862.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I have been intending to write to you for a long time, ever since indeed I determined to send Sir Charles Trevelyan to India.

“ You naturally might view the appointment with a critical eye, and I have not a word to say against the criticism in the *Economist* on the subject. I believe, however, that you will find that he will be a much more faithful successor in Mr. Wilson's steps than Mr. Laing.

He will maintain the Income Tax according to Wilson's avowed intention for the five years, and fully carry out his plans for the management of the currency, as far as is possible after the derangement made in them of late. He is fully aware of the error which he committed, and will, I believe, make an admirable public servant at Calcutta. He is thoroughly imbued with what were Mr. Wilson's notions, that a financier to make great plans and long speeches is not what is now needed, but a practical man of business to reduce and keep down expenditure.

"I think you will be pleased to hear this. He erred and has paid dearly for his error, though not more dearly than was fitting, and I hope we shall get good service out of him yet.

"Yours truly,
"C. WOOD.

"W. BAGEHOT, ESQ."

In answer to this letter Bagehot wrote :

"I am very much obliged to you for your kind note of yesterday.

"It was impossible that Mr. Wilson's wife and relations could hear of Sir C. Trevelyan's appointment without feeling some pain, but this—the information contained in your note must very much diminish.

"It would be untrue to say that I feel no anxiety as to Sir C. Trevelyan's future course in India, for he is undeniably a little *erratic* ; but nothing can be more satisfactory than his present opinions, and in every way I am sure he will be better than Mr. Laing."

Sir Charles Wood answered this note, enclosing one from Sir Charles Trevelyan to him :

"INDIA OFFICE,
"2nd December, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your letter was written in so kind a spirit that I could not resist sending it to Trevelyan, and I now

enclose his answer, which I am sure will be gratifying to all Mr. Wilson's friends and relatives.

"They were not men to differ except on public grounds, honourable alike to both, and there was, and is, nothing petty or crooked in either of them.

"Yours truly,

"C. WOOD."

"DEAR WOOD,

"I am glad you sent me Mr. Bagehot's note. I have never yielded to the weakness of under-rating my predecessor or successor, and of Wilson I can only think and speak as of a very able, indefatigable, public servant, who did much for his country while he lived, and ended by sacrificing his life for it, after he had laid the foundation of the new system of Indian Finance which I hope to finish. My personal relations with Wilson while we were in India together were perfectly friendly, and I regret that I did not preserve a letter which he wrote me after my recall reminding me that our difference had been entirely public, and expressing his regret that India was to lose my services, and warmly thanking me for some attentions I had been able to pay his family. Whatever faults I may have, to do injustice to my predecessor is not one of them, and in this case the circumstances are such as would induce a man from mere self-interest to pretend a kindness which he did not feel.

"Sincerely yours,

"C. TREVELYAN."

My father retained a copy of the letter to which Sir Charles Trevelyan refers and another which also hardly tallies with Sir C. Trevelyan's assertions in his letter to Sir C. Wood.

Both copies were preserved :

Private

"CALCUTTA,

"18th May, 1860.

"DEAR SIR CHS. TREVELYAN,

"However much we may be at variance upon public matters I should be very sorry that you should

think me open to the charge of personal 'discourtesy' as I collect from your Minute of 1st May you do. You seem hurt at my use of the word '*Wanton indiscretion.*' I do not think I used the word wanton, and the impression of the other members of Council agrees entirely with my own. In the printed copy the word used is '*lamentable.*' But however that may be, whether I used it or not, you must permit me to assure you that I did not intend anything discourteous, and if I have given you any pain on that account I much regret it.

"I also observe that you have entirely misapprehended another expression in relation to the notice which I deemed it necessary to take in public of your Minute. On the first opportunity I will state as much in public as I now do in private.

"I cannot however hide from you that not only I, but my colleagues as much, strongly felt that your Minute, apart from its matter, was written in a most uncalled for offensive spirit : at the same time that did not prevent us dealing with its arguments and statements in the manner which we considered best calculated to promote the public interest.

"I hope you will permit me to express my gratitude to Lady Trevelyan and yourself for your great attention to Mrs. Wilson and my daughter during their unfortunate detention at Madras.

"I am,

"Faithfully yours,

"JAMES WILSON."

"CALCUTTA,

"19th May, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR CHAS. TREVELYAN,

"I cannot allow this Mail to leave without seizing the last few minutes left to me to express my sincere regret that circumstances have occurred which have led to your departure from India. Of course it is not my intention to refer to those circumstances, but I can truly say that they have been to me matters of great

disappointment, for, as you are well aware, I looked forward for much aid from you in the performance of a task as difficult as anyone ever undertook, and which the facts brought to light, day by day, tend only to make more difficult, by showing our real condition to be much worse than anyone expected.

"I hope you will allow me again to express to Lady Trevelyan and yourself the thankfulness I feel for the courtesy and great attention shown to Mrs. Wilson and my daughter. They are very sensible of your kindness.

"Notwithstanding what has occurred, Believe me, your sincere well wisher,

"JAMES WILSON."

It is surely truly incomprehensible that the same individual could have previously written the following letter containing such sound opinions, and have subsequently behaved in such a reckless and contradictory manner as did Sir C. Trevelyan.

"MADRAS,

"26 Sept., 1859.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"I had, of course, heard of your appointment, and determined at once to give you the best assistance in my power. *The thing can be done*, but it must be in English fashion, by a *long* pull, a *strong* pull, and a *pull all together*.

"I shall be living at Gindi when you pass. [Suggestions as to meeting.]

"Very sincerely yours,

"C. C. TREVELYAN."

There were those who felt that Sir Charles Wood's action with regard to these proceedings, notwithstanding his very worthy qualities, very distinctly revealed limitations in his understanding, consequently a certain bluntness in his perceptions and sympathies. Owing to this bluntness his nature was anything but congenial to that of Walter Bagehot. This Bagehot expressed in very decided language in a letter to my sister.

It was not long before my father had proofs of the cruelly disastrous effect Sir Charles Trevelyan's "outrageous vagary" had on the successful carrying out of his measures, but it was only those, like Lord and Lady Canning and Sir Bartle Frere, with whom he was intimate, who appreciated to the full the wholehearted devotion my father put into the achievement of his abnormally difficult task and could therefore recognise what a deep wound such fractious and uncalled for opposition inflicted. My father's schemes were far-sighted, boldly and courageously conceived, but requiring concentrated labour in weaving the detail of their construction into practical achievement. While feeling the encouragement of general approval, this necessary labour was comparatively of no great difficulty to my father, whose powers of work seemed equal to any amount of strain, but, though possessing the complete concurrence and sympathy of Lord Canning and all his colleagues in the Council, unfortunately, besides the opposition in India consequent on Sir Charles Trevelyan's conduct, he did not receive the confiding support he had been promised from the India Office at home. The labour had therefore to be sustained under disappointment and depressing influences.

"Though personally extremely modest and reserved, he [my father] attacked all public work with an almost exultant confidence and courage, a confidence and courage arising, I imagine, greatly from his power of detaching entirely any personal considerations or inclinations from his duties as an official. As a public servant he rose on to a platform on which he ceased to be anything but a servant of the public."¹

"SIMLA,

"April 23, 1860.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"There are sundry matters in your last letter upon which I owe you answers. . . .

"I have not heard of a murmur on the part of the

¹ *Life of Walter Bagehot.*

Commissioned Officers at their subjection to the Income Tax. . . .

“Wood’s Public Works Despatch of the 8th Feb^y has not cleared up our difficulty; quite the contrary. Neither has his letter to you of Feb^y 10th. What I gather from a comparison of the two is that the P.W. Committee of the Council are decidedly on one tack, steering towards the system desired by Madras—and that the Despatch is written accordingly; whilst the Secretary of State is for trimming towards what has been recommended by the G^t of India, but does not the less sign the Committee’s Despatch. I do not think that either party, with reverence be it said, has really mastered the actual state of things as now existing, or the effect of the recommendations which has been made by the G^t of India. You are of course aware that I wrote a Despatch from Umballa (Jan. 16) making specific suggestions as to the relations between the Supreme and Local Govts. in this matter. . . .

“As to decentralisation—I very much agree with what you say of Trevelyan’s aim and of the cry at home.

“I agree in all that you say as to bringing the whole of the Finance of India under one central control. . . .

“I think your solution of Herbert’s speech regarding the expense of the China Expedition must be the right one. It cannot be meant that India should pay, finally.

“In reply to your question, what shall be done about Trevelyan’s outrageous vagary, you will see what I have written to Madras and to Wood.

“I hold it to be absolutely necessary that the Bills should not become law before we hear from England. As yet, we do not know what they say to the measures themselves, apart from the Madras opposition to them; and if (which is quite on the cards) it should happen that an opposition is sounded in Parliament, and forced upon the Home Govt. we shall have the re-echo of it here in a very short time.

“Besides, we must know what effect the proceedings at Madras are likely to have on this side of India. I

have written to Montgomery and Edmonton for their considered opinions, and shall receive their replies a day or two before I leave this for Calcutta. Wingfield I shall see on the road down.

"I do not mean that any avowed and publicly avowed check on the Legislative course should take place. That would be very objectionable. But it will be quite possible to pass the Bills less rapidly through the Council without an appearance of hesitation.

"This is what is meant by the last lines of my Despatch to the Sect^y of State.

"I must defer writing upon the remaining points noticed in your letter of March 30 until to-morrow.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"CANNING.

"THE RT. HON. JAS. WILSON."

"SIMLA,

"April 29, 1860.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"I have received the enclosed letter from Montgomery. He is uneasy, but not more so than I expected.

"He little knows Trevelyan when he speaks of resignation.

"The argument for introducing the Taxes in the Autumn was urged two months ago, or more, by Mr. Cust—long before Madras had run riot. He is the one of all the Punjab Commissioners who expressed most anxiety as to the work, but he was confident of success.

"Since I last wrote I have seen your Despatch to the Home Govt. The 10th paragraph (I think it is) of that Despatch and the concluding one of mine are at cross purposes. I like my course the best, as at present advised, but if you have any reasons for pressing the measure through which have not been stated pray let me know them.

"It would be quite another thing if by any possible speed we could anticipate the agitation against the measure ; but that is out of the question.

"There is another reason in favour of the Autumn which Montgomery has not noticed—the greater facility with which the Civil Officers can move amongst the people. If a Deputy Commissioner makes a mistake, or finds himself in a difficulty in his District it is very desirable that the Commissioner of the Division should be able to repair to the spot promptly, visit the people, and set matters straight. Rapid motion, and constant activity through the hot winds and the rains is not to be expected.

"The question is how long the legislative process and other preliminaries can be spun out without giving an appearance of hesitation? I should like to know what you think on this point. . . .

"My plans remain the same. I shall start on the 7th. Before going I shall hold a Durbar of the Hill Chiefs ; and also receive privately the Pulteala Maharaja and the Cu. Sulledge Rajah : they have asked to come and say good-bye quietly, and under present circumstances their visits will have a good effect.

"I have heard nothing from the L^t Gov^r of the N.W. Provinces.

"Montgomery's letter is quite a private and unreserved one. Do not show it to anybody but Sir B. Frere.

"Sincerely yours,
"CANNING.

"THE RT. HON. JAS. WILSON,
"CALCUTTA."

"FROM

"SIR R. MONTGOMERY, K.C.B.

"Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab.

"TO

"HIS EXCELLENCY

"THE GOVERNOR OF INDIA.

"LAHORE, 25th April, 1860.

"When I wrote to you on the 14th (I think that is the date) I was not aware that Sir C. Trevelyan's Memo. had been made public.

"I have never known a more injudicious act. He is very embarrassing, and I observe that both the Madras and Bombay papers have taken his view and *advocate his policy*.

"I think as regards the introduction of taxation generally, his imprudence will render much greater care and caution necessary than before, and I was glad to see in your letter to Sir C. Wood the expression 'care will be taken that the measures shall not pop into law and thereby anticipate your decision.'

"Just before I received your Lordship's letter I was on the point of writing to your Lordship, and I was going to suggest the advisability of deferring the introduction of the License and Income Taxes till October next.

"In the meantime I would go on with the Bills, spinning out the details in Committee, but showing no signs of hesitation, as to the Act being eventually enforced.

"And now for my reasons for suggesting delay.

"I think that the attitude assumed by Sir C. Trevelyan and backed up by the Bombay and Madras Press—the Native Presses at those places and also in Calcutta and in the North West also working—will have the effect of stirring up immense and serious opposition and the probability is that there will be disturbances at some places. Our army at present is chiefly European and the men cannot move in the hot season except at great risk and loss of life.

"In October next our Europeans would be free to move and crush instantly any opposition that might at any place be offered. It is very probable that if the taxation is judiciously done, there will be no serious opposition, and I feel pretty sure there will not be. But after all that has occurred and the discussion now going on, there may be, and it is as well to be prepared.

"It has struck me that after your strong condemnation of Sir C. Trevelyan, he may resign at once.

"I feel sure that every reasonable precaution should be taken; and then the whole be carried through with a firm and high hand.

"It may be a question whether you should not now place the Native Press under a censorship—I would strongly recommend it and the *sooner* the better.

"I don't allow the Punjab Native Press to comment unfavourably on Taxation.

"I have written very freely and I feel sure you will not attribute my having done so to anything but a desire to suggest what seemed to me right at this somewhat critical period.

"Believe me, yours,
"R. MONTGOMERY."

Sir Bartle Frere wrote with reference to a Draft my father wrote as an answer to opposition which had been raised to his measures :

"16. 5. 60.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"I thought your Draft *most* convincing and very temperate—an exceedingly powerful paper—and I only suggested 2 or 3 verbal alterations of synonyms for words which I thought might give umbrage, as you will have seen when the Proofs come to you. I will write to Clerk as you suggest. I sent him a long letter some days ago telling him that an answer to Lord Elphinstone's . . . Minute wd follow.

"You must not be surprised at the way in which old Indians act in such matters. We have been too much accustomed to a constant course of "annexation," and borrowing—false statements of the marvellous resources of our conquests, and the like. This has not only made us indifferent to debt but has created a deep-rooted distrust of Govt. statements.

"The rise in the funds after your speech was not due to your plan, but to your assurance that you had looked carefully into the matter and then told them the worst—they trusted you at once. I doubt if any rise would have followed if you had given the speech to Outram or me to read.

"I send a copy of the *Bombay Times*. It may be

worth while to send it to Sir C. Wood as a proof of the evil that has followed Sir C. Trevelyan's act. I see that *The Times* when it has no corresp^t at Bombay always extracts the leaders of this paper and here you have it admitting 2 facts worth noting—(I have scored the passages)—one that they are writing up to the selfish immediate interests of their European constituents—the other that their opposition was a consequence of Sir C. Trevelyan's act.

“You cannot measure the evil of such an article by its ignorant imbecility.

“I think considering the turn things have taken, the delay is less to be regretted—for it will enable Sir C. Wood to lay the papers before the House and I cannot but think they will go far to bring round public opinion. I wish you w^d append a copy of the estimates for I am sure it w^d have an immense effect. It is not every one who can follow an argument like that in your letters however clearly put, as yours always are, but everyone can understand a Tabular Debtor and Creditor Statement.

“I feel certain that in the end truth and sound principle *must* prevail, but we must lay our account for many a temporary failure and disapp^t meanwhile, and console ourselves with thinking of Robt. Bruce and his spider.

“I only wish we had some means of getting your arguments and facts before the public—without waiting for the Blue Book from Home.

“Yours ever sincerely,

“H. BARTLE E. FRERE.”

CHAPTER XXXIII

LETTERS REFERRING TO TAXATION AFTER SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN'S INSUBORDINATION

“ RAURD PINDER,
“ *March 4, 1860.*

“ MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

“ The results which I have brought away from Peshawar are satisfactory, both as regards the temper of the Border Chiefs and people, and the condition of our troops. I have been able to stop all further expenditure on Barracks there and at Nowshera. One English Regt. may be withdrawn to this side of the Indus, which will enable us to add one to the six which I have already told Wood he may count upon being returned to England, whether the China war is cut short or trails on. Three of these are, as you know, already under orders (1st Batn. 60th—53rd—and 8th) and now four more will be despatched in the Autumn. I had the means also of reducing the Native Cavalry on the frontier, but I cannot say to what extent until I get back to Camp ;—probably by a whole Regiment.

“ Sindia and Holkar have both been uttering warnings against reduction of European strength, and told Major Meade and Shakespear that the minds of the people are still unsettled—that the chances of another outbreak are being reckoned—and that there is a belief that we are going to send 30,000 English soldiers from India to England and China which encourages this belief. Against these exaggerated, but by no means irrational, apprehensions, I set the fact that at the time when they were expressed we were receiving the

submission of no less than seven rebels of note, whom since the breaking up of Wheeler's force we have been hunting through the Jungles of B—— and Central India with three small columns of Native Troops. Of these men, one was the pretender to the Adjeighur State, and the other a notorious leader named F——, who has surrendered himself without attempting to make conditions. This does not look as if new outbreaks were in contemplation. But it is most true that nothing will more certainly put such thoughts into the heads of the ill disposed than reductions ostentatiously made. I have already promised to send home more than they expected in England, and if further additions to the number are possible they shall be made ; but pray bear in mind that there sh^d. be as little said about a sudden diminution of Europeans as possible.

“The case against an abandonment at Peshawar and Udeat is even stronger than I knew it to be, politically and militarily : and Sir J. Lawrence's financial reason in favour of it, the only reason to which I attached any weight—are less sound than I expected to find them. I defy the Govt. at home to give in to the proposal, even though they shall have (as I think Wood has) a hankering for it. I know that Outram thinks differently on this question, and wishes for our withdrawal within the Upper Indus ;—but in truth the subject has never been fairly put before the Govt. of India, still less before the Govt. at home ; and a sound judgment upon it from the statements hitherto sent up has been impossible.

“The one thing indispensable here is the Trunk Road. The completion of the Road between Lahore and Peshawar—but especially, and first, between Raurd Pinder and Peshawar, is urgent. Economy and the easy maintenance of safety on the frontier hang upon it. A good line of communication between unhealthy Peshawar and healthy Raurd Pinder open at all times of year—which means, bridged and metalled—will be the best means of preserving our English soldiers and of

making a small force go a long way. It will render any addition to the Barracks west of Raurd Pinder unnecessary. It will enable us to dispense with any further strengthening of attack; or any expenditure upon the place, except in cheap clearance. As a place of strength Attock is of no account whatever. It deserves no outlay of money. But communication across the Indus will be essential. The two schemes of a bridge (which came before the Govt. in 1856 I think) are very unsatisfactory both on Military and Engineering grounds, and the lowest estimate was 15 lacs. I have therefore been closely examining Major Robertson's scheme of a tunnel, and, so far as plans on paper can be trusted, it is simple and economical. Success will depend upon the continuity of the stratum of slate which underlies the river. This will be tested by a drift gallery which I have ordered to be run at once. The Punjab Pioneers who are in garrison there have been out to work upon it, and the cost of the drift will be £1000. In 6 months we shall probably know the truth. If the result is satisfactory, the completion of the gallery into a tunnel will be plain sailing; and the cost about 5 lacs, including steam engine and other contingencies.

"I am afraid I cannot spare Lord Clyde yet awhile. I did not contemplate his going down country much before myself, and I have much to settle with him when the whole inspection of the Punjab is over.

"I do not share your apprehension that we shall over build ourselves with Barracks—that is, as regards the number of the Stations and Barracks constructed. As regards the quality and costliness—we have long been avoiding the thing. The extravagance of the model plans has been great; and the last two summers have shown that there is a medium which is perfectly consistent with—and indeed more conducive—to the health of the Troops than the grand palaces which have been put up for them in some of the up-country stations. Half-company ranges (instead of whole-company ranges) and good roofs and verandahs built to last 15 years,

instead of for eternity, is, I am satisfied, the right scheme.

“ Ever sincerely yrs.,

“ CANNING.

“ P.S. I shall be at Sealkote on the 7th and after halting at the Cashmere N [word erased] shall go on, probably on the 10th to Drunneggar (the head of the Baree Dooab Canal), thence to the Hanger Tea Plantations—and thence to the foot of the Hills below Simla, which I hope to reach in the first days of April.

“ THE RT. HON. JAS. WILSON.”

“ CAMP GHUREEB SHAH,

March 13, 1860.

“ MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

“ I sent you this morning the following telegram. ‘The bearing of the Income Tax upon the Army is likely to become a serious question. Be careful how you commit the Government upon it. I write by post.’

“ You will see by the enclosed Tables how the Income Tax reaching to incomes of 200 Rs. will bear upon the European Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry respectively.

“ It never entered into my calculations—nor into L^d. Clyde’s—that the receipt of good conduct pay would bring Corporals and Privates within the incidence of the Tax : but so it is. The Tax will just reach those who have earned their reward.

“ Meanwhile the attention of the English Regts., line and local, is keenly directed to the Tax. There is no doubt of this. Brgdr. Horsford has reported it from Meerut, and I hear it from another source, not official, but reliable, elsewhere.

“ It is not likely that the Soldiers have looked so closely into the question as to be aware that those Corporals & Privates who do not receive good conduct pay will escape the Tax. It is much more likely that their feeling is one of general dissatisfaction at finding that any of the lower grades of the Army are now for the first

time to be brought under direct taxation. How far this feeling would be dissipated or diminished by a provision which should take good conduct pay out of the reckoning of their incomes, and thereby relieve the Privates (and, in the case of the Infantry, the Corporals) from the Tax, no man can say. L^d Clyde has no fear of insubordination in the line Regiments so long as the Private Soldier is not brought within the Tax ; and probably he is right.

“ But I do not consider it sufficient that we should be secure against insubordination only. We must prevent agitation of the question in the grades above the Private Soldier ; for of all conceivable encouragements which could be given to a resistance on the part of the Natives none would be so effectual as any symptoms of discontent in any portion of our English Army.

“ Moreover, although such agitation might in Bengal be kept within bounds, and be harmless to the discipline of the English Army in this Presidency, I feel no confidence that this would be the case in Madras & Bombay. The preposterous pretention of the Governments of those Presidencies that they ought not to be subjected to the same measures of new taxation with Bengal is no secret ; it is well calculated to encourage their Armies to make a grievance of the Income Tax ; and if any demonstration against the Tax were not promptly and judiciously met by the Military Authorities the embarrassment would be very serious. I am not satisfied that it would be so met—in Bombay at least.

“ Therefore my conclusion is that exemption should not be confined to those whose incomes will be brought by good conduct pay within the scope of the Tax (and from this exemption there is no escape) but that it should extend to all soldiers who do not hold Commissions.

“ This, I think, is the line which can be most easily and intelligently drawn. Like any other exemption of Class it is financially unsound ; but when dissatisfaction shall have arisen amongst our European Troops it will not be much consolation to know that it has been brought about by an adherence to correct financial principles.

And, as I have said, the exhibition of such dissatisfaction will be mischievous to us far beyond the ranks of the Army.

"A preferable rule of exemption would have been that the Indian Allowances of a soldier should alone be taxable—as distinguished from his permanent English pay ; but this would not meet the case of the Local European Soldier, whose pay is altogether Indian.

"I write this from half-way between Sealkote and the head of the Baree Doab Canal, which I shall reach three days hence. After visiting it I leave the Camp for a flying expedition to the Holla Tea Plantations, returning to the Camp about the 25th.

" Sincerely yours,
" CANNING.

" P.S. The Table of the Cavalry pay and deductions is not ready. It differs little from that of the Artillery. You shall have it by to-morrow's post."

" CAMP DEEVANUGGEUR,
" March 18, 1860.

" MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

" I have received your message of the 15th and have just dispatched the following one to you. ' Your message of the 15th received, I understand that non-commissioned officers of all grades are exempted by the terms of the Bill. This is quite right and necessary.'

" The uneasiness amongst some of the English troops continues. I saw yesterday a letter from one of the best officers of the Bengal Artillery written from Meerut in a tone of much apprehension. He says—truly enough, I have no doubt—that every gunner expects to become a Sergeant, and that therefore the Privates will consider the cause of the non-commissioned officers as their own—or words to this effect.

" I took measures yesterday to let commanding officers know that the Tax will not touch non-commissioned officers, and I am very glad to find by your

message that nothing had been said or done which could lead to an opposite conclusion.

"In bringing in the Bill on the 27th it will be best to say nothing of any uneasiness or doubts on the part of the Troops—to make no allusion to it—but to let the simple statement, that the Bill does not apply to the non-commissioned grades of the Army, speak for itself.

"There has been nothing overt on the part of the Troops, and it is of the worst example, to notice their barrack-room murmurings in the Legislature.

"If we had anything to retract or alter it would be different, but we have not.

"Sincerely yours,
"CANNING."

"SIMLA,
"April 24th 1860.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"I go on to the matters on which I had not time to write yesterday.

"All that you say in your letter of April 1 regarding estimates from the various branches of the service—Paymastership Audit and Currency is very good.

"Will the Committees be able to do their work thoroughly without representatives from Madras and Bombay?

"I quite concur in the expediency of putting Temple on the Military Finance Commission.

"Newbolt will be replaced by Hobday. There cannot be a better man. I asked him if he could discharge the duties of the office and at the same time take a part in the Commission; but he says that he cannot, and if he says so, I am sure that it is true, and that no other man could do so. Therefore he will not be available as a member of the Commission. I do not think this is material.

"You will see that Temple and Mr. Halsey have been gazetted. Newly created appointments should be

gazetted by the Governor-General. I have no objection to the salary you propose for Mr. Halsey.

"On Tolls I have, since my telegram, answered officially through the Public Works Department.

"There is a matter connected with the Tolls on this, the Simla Road, which must be looked to. The whole of the Tolls are leased to a person who is thereby enabled to take to himself a monopoly of the Bullock train, which is therefore badly conducted at great charges to the Public. The remedy will be either for the Govt. to collect the Tolls or to lower them. I will call the Lieut.-Governor's attention to this.

"In your letter of March 30, there is a passage which I do not quite understand. You speak of 'leaving all the judicial and other questions apart from receipts (of Land Revenue) with single Commissioners in place of the existing Boards.' Are these single Commissioners proposed as new creations? and are they to be one for each local Government? I do not see my way to a clear line between their functions and those of the new Board.

"Before I say anything definite to Muir (your estimate of whom is quite just) I should like to know the plan a little more in detail. Pray let me have a letter from you upon it at Cawnpore. I will tell Muir to meet me at Allahabad. I never thought of sending him to Oude. Though of good ability he is the last man in India whom I would put into a Non-Regulation Province.

"I have got the matter of reduction of Expenditure covered by the number of stations, and by the moveable condition of columns and detachments in hand, with Lord Clyde. Something may be done by reducing the marching establishment and carriage, but very little, if anything, by concentration. In the first place European Regiments cannot be massed together much more than they are already unless new Barracks are built. There are very few stations at which there is spare room. And next, the great addition to our European strength exists in India for the purpose of being seen, palpably, and by as many circles of the Native population as possible,

The Expenditure on the heavy Batteries may, I am satisfied, be reduced further than Lord Clyde has yet proposed.

"I quite agree as to the necessity of bringing the Medical Dept. under closer control.

"I have communicated with Ld. Elphinstone regarding Aden. I did not know that Brigd. Coghlan was going home. Captain Playfair is a good man, but a young Captain of 12 or 13 years service is fully young for that place. I think that Brigd. Coghlan's recommendation must have included a separation, for this time, of the duties of Political Agent and Commandant of the Garrison.

"Last night I heard that Trevelyan's manifesto had been much discussed at Londiaroa. I wish Montgomery had made more haste in selecting the Sirdars for the Magistracy.

"I leave this on the 7th and shall make no halts except during the heat of the days.

"Sincerely yrs.,
"CANNING.

"THE RT. HON. JAS. WILSON,
"Calcutta."

As soon as Lord Canning heard of Sir Charles Trevelyan's insubordination he decided to return to Calcutta to deal with it in the Legislative Council.

From Lord Clyde, on possible reductions of military expenses, my father received the following :

"SIMLA,
"May 1st, 1860.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"I have had your letter of the 29th lying by me for a longer time than I could have wished.

"The Expenditure of the Commissariat for European troops of which you complain, I have considered with much attention, but I am afraid I cannot at present see fair reason to hope for any important reduction. The remedy for this expenditure would no doubt be found in

a concentration of the European Troops ; this cannot at present be accomplished, for there are not Barracks sufficient for holding larger numbers of men than now occupy them, in any given locality ; besides which for political reasons it must for some time to come be advisable to keep the European Troops scattered about the country with a view to strengthen the hands of the Civil Officers, after the shake which their power and authority received during the late insurrection. I have however done something in a small way for I have got rid of the Establishment at Dhurrunsalla, and I am going to relieve the Naval Brigade from Diberovighur.

“It may be found possible to do away with the Cattle Establishments in some of the large stations such as Meerut, Lahore, etc., for there Cattle Conveyance is I believe to be found in abundance when required, but at many stations this is not the case, and it is absolutely necessary to have so much carriage ready prepared as to enable a part of the troops to move at a moment's notice.

“In November last, I recommended to Government to fix the scale of transport Cattle for siege purposes at 2,800 bullocks, and Magazine purposes at 1,174—making a total of 3,974. This proposal at once effected a reduction of 6,900 bullocks on the fixed Establishment of 1855, or in fact a saving of about a Lac a month. Whether this has yet been carried to the Credit of Government I cannot say. It seems pretty nearly certain that the Govt. will be able to send to England in the Autumn *four* Regts. of the Line. As soon as I rec^d. a letter from Sir William Mansfield about Moollaie—a copy of which I enclose—I sent a copy of it to the Department of Public Works—to Colonel Jule.

“In this letter Sir W. Mansfield commented on an excessive estimate of Nine Lacs which had been sent in for constructions at that station ; you are aware that I have no power in any way of controlling such matters beyond the bringing of them to the notice of Government as I have done, for I also sent a copy of it to Sir Robert Montgomery.

" I look forward with much pleasure to seeing you about the 22nd prox.

" Believe me, my dear Mr. Wilson,
 " most sincerely yours,
 " CLYDE."

" DHURMPORE,
 " May 8, 1860.

" MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

" I have not written since I received your letters of the 23rd and 28th ; and I am sorry to say, with reference to the last, that I overlooked your request for an answer by telegraph respecting Maloor Opium. I will send it from Umballa to-morrow morning. Here I am not within reach of the wire. I wish you had told me what it will bring in. The tax, *per se*, is as unobjectionable as any that can be invented ; but this is not the only point for consideration. One of the best aids towards getting the Income Tax smoothly into operation will be to avoid giving ground for the suspicion that we are going to tax separate classes and interests, right and left ; in other ways. There is already an uneasy feeling of 'What next ?' showing itself. I hear this from Oude and from the N. West.

" I have no apprehension of trouble in Oude, and Edmonton has less than I expected of him in the North West ; and except that *all* new Taxes will be seized upon as proofs of our determination to exact the utmost from all classes, I do not suppose that an increase upon Maloor Opium would attract any remark on this side of India.

" But have you had any communication on the subject—I mean as regards the popular effect of an increase of the duty, at the present time—with Bombay and with Central India ? It is quite true that the increased tax would fall, so far as agriculturists are concerned, mainly upon those who are not our subjects, and so far as Traders are concerned upon a class of new subjects who are best able to bear it. Therefore logically, and in common sense, we might suppose that

the great community of our subjects in the West of India would view it with indifference. Nevertheless, this is not a safe conclusion. Nothing could be much more irrational than the grounds of the disturbance at Peshawar ; or than the apprehensions of India that Native States were to be taxed ; but we have people all around us interested in mis-representing what we are about, and every step must be taken warily. And therefore with the one main tax on Income on our hands, and in view of the extraordinary difficulties (the Madras mutiny) which have been super-added to the task of reconciling the people to it, I wish to see my way quite clearly before assenting to simultaneous additional taxation in other shapes.

“As a means to this I should like to know what the proposed 200 Rs (additional) per chest would produce ? and whether in the opinion of those competent to judge it would raise, even indirectly, any opposition or excitement. If this is to be expected (and my impression from former examination of the subject when we raised the duty in 1859 is, that the Opium merchants exercise a powerful influence upon the growers, and have the means of rousing their discontent) it may be that the productiveness of the additional duty will be quite incommensurate with the embarrassment which it will give to our larger measures.

“I see you say that the increased duty is expected. How does this appear ? Pray let me hear from you fully on these points, and also as to the latest date at which the Notice (which undoubtedly must be given) will be in time. I rather think that in 1859 it was sent by telegraph. Grey will know about this.

“I have written to Sir Bartle Frere respecting the Leg. Council, and have sent him a Minute appointing Sir M. Wells *vice* Jackson—absolutely. It would not do for *me* to be a party to any bargain between the two, and to make it a condition with Sir M. Wells that he should resign in his turn when Sir C. Jackson comes back, but of course if he does resign Sir C. Jackson will be re-

appointed. I have written in this sense to each ; but have left it to Sir B. Frere to determine whether the acceptance of Jackson's resignation shall take place at once or be held in hand until Legislation actually fails.

" Since you last wrote you will have seen my Despatch to Wood respecting Trevelyan. I am quite clear as to the necessity of awaiting the Home view of the Madras proceedings before passing the Bills.

" I am delighted to hear of the stoppage of issue of Treasury Bills.

" Muir will meet me at Allahabad, when I will speak to him of the new employment in Calcutta.

" I am truly sorry to hear of Mrs. Wilson's departure and the cause of it. Dr. Macrae has, I have no doubt, done quite right to prescribe the Neilgherries, and not Simla. I am sceptical of the healthiness of the latter, and so is Lady Canning, who has tried both.

" Many thanks to you for urging my stay in the Hills. The journey will be very disagreeable, but beyond that I have no dread of it.

" I am already well into the plains, for I am finishing this letter at Umballa.

" Ever yours sincerely,

" CANNING.

" I send in another cover a copy of a Memo^m by Wingfield on Tobacco. I thought, till I saw him the other day at Simla, that it had gone to Calcutta.

" UMBALLA, *May 9, 1860.*"

" ALLAHABAD,

" *May 15, 1860.*

" MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

" I can now reckon upon being in Calcutta by the 21st without fail. I have received your letter directed to Cawnpore. A good many points in it will keep till we meet, but there are one or two upon which I will write at once, in order that the disposal of them after I reach Calcutta may be more speedy.

“ I think your expectation of an answer from England to my Despatch of April 19th respecting Trevelyan is too sanguine. I do not look for it before the beginning of July, and we must make the legislation upon the Bills tide over until that time. This will not be difficult ; and we may hope that, if no obstacles are interposed at home, the Bills may become law by the middle of July.

“ Then as regards the season at which to bring the Income Tax into operation. The advantage of not doing this until October, when our Civil Officers (and, if needs be, Troops and Police) can move through the Country quickly to correct any blunders of their subordinates, or to explain things and to reassure the people, is so great that we must, I think, make up our minds to the delay. Your proposal is that whilst this delay till October takes place in the country the Income Tax should as soon as the law is passed, take effect in the Presidency Towns, and upon our own officers, and upon funded incomes ; and that when October comes we should proceed to tax the country generally, showing them that the tax had already been realised from the above named classes, and calling upon them to pay retrospectively for the three months which would have elapsed since the passing of the Bills.

“ I think there is serious objection to this last part of the proposal. It is the habit of many classes in the ————especially of the Agricultural class—to dispose of their half year’s income, whether from Crops or other sources, as soon as it is realised by them ; and if we come upon them for back payment they will have to borrow money in many cases, and will certainly deem it a hardship in all. It is quite possible that amongst some of the poorer we might have to distrain. This would be an odious beginning to the Tax.

“ I would avoid it by making the Law take effect universally for the second financial half year only—i.e. *from* October. We shall still have it for five years ; so that the effect will be only to postpone the first partial ante-October haul for three months. Pray consider

whether there is any practical objection to this. I think not, judging by what I last heard of our balances.

“Next, as to what you say of raising the minimum of taxable incomes from 200 Rs. to 300 or 400 Rs. and abandoning the one per cent. for Public Works ; increasing, at the same time, the middle rate of the License Duty.

“No doubt the first of the charges would meet the objection which they seem disposed to take to the Bill at home ; and it is in accordance with the view which Montgomery has recently taken. But it is not the change which I am most inclined to make. The 200 Rs. limit, estimated as we intend to estimate it, makes the Tax pass over the heads of the vast mass of Agriculturists in the N.W. Provinces, and although it will not do this to the same extent in the Punjab, I have not found in either Government that the Local Officers anticipate any difficulty ; or any unreasonable pressure upon the Rural population on account of the 200 Rs. limit.

“Indeed the hopeful temper of the Officers in regard to the introduction of the Tax as it now stands adjusted without disturbance or any great excitement is most remarkable in every district through which I have passed on my way down. At Umballa, Kurnaud, Delhi, Allyghur (the only place respecting which Edmonton has written at all uneasily) Cawnpore and here (Allahabad) it is the same. They expect no disturbance, and no excitement which may not be soothed down, although they do look for great difficulty and trouble to themselves in applying the measure, and much interruption, even after we shall have reinforced them to the utmost practicable extent, to their ordinary administration duties. So far all that I have heard has been very encouraging.

“But it is quite different as regards the Tobacco Tax. The feeling of apprehension which almost all the officers have on this head cannot be overlooked. Wingfield, as you know, is dead against it—much more so than against the Income Tax upon Landowners.

Indeed his objections to this last are based more upon a feeling of gratitude towards the Taloochdars who have helped him so effectually in introducing his own fashion of License Duty, than upon any argument of justice or policy. Perhaps, too, he feels that it will be the more difficult for him to exact it with a good grace seeing that in his late intercourse with them on the License Duty he has never told them that it is impending. But to the Tobacco Tax he is opposed as being really hazardous.

“Brandreth, at Delhi, though not so strong in his views is also against it. In the Goorgaom District the villagers, hearing that there is a Tobacco tax coming, have been ploughing up the lately sown seed. In Jubbulpore and Saugor (the Commissioner, Cocks, is now here) the minds of the people are much occupied with it; they assume that it will double the cost of Tobacco to every individual, man, woman, and child; and it is, he tells me, more discussed than any other impending tax. Almost all the officers lay stress upon the consideration which obliged one the other day to demur to your proposed increase of duty of Maloor Opium—namely, the impolicy of bewildering and frightening the people with new taxes from so many quarters at once. But in this point of view the effect of the Opium duty would be as nothing compared to that of the Tobacco tax. Another objection which weighs with several of the Officers is that this Tobacco tax will dispose every class and man against us (Sikhs excepted) and that if we have trouble in the towns from the Income Tax we shall not be able to rely (as otherwise we may do upon the good will or, at least, the absence of hostility of the Rural districts.

“This is why I say that a raising of the minimum of taxable incomes is not the change which I am inclined to make. I had rather leave the Income Tax alone (certainly I would not raise the minimum above 300 Rs.) retaining the four per cent., or even making it five per cent., and giving up the Tobacco Tax. It is not too late to do this with an entirely good grace, and without any

sign of weakness—especially if whilst giving up the Tobacco Tax for the present it were declared that in the event of the Income Tax and failing to meet the necessity of the State the Government reserved to itself to recur to a Tax on Tobacco, or some other suitable supplement of the Income Tax. My preference is for dropping the Tobacco Tax without retaining it as a stand by ; and for pointing to another mode of filling up the measure of our requirements, if the Income Tax, License, Duty etc. should not suffice. But I cannot go into this at present, and as I shall be in Calcutta 48 hours after you receive this, it is not necessary. What I would ask you to do is to think over before we meet what devices can be found to enable us to dispense with—or, at any rate to postpone the Tobacco Tax.

“ I should add that I have suspended the issue of the Exposition of the New Taxes, which I found had just been received at Allahabad. It commits us, categorically, to a Tobacco Tax ; and would make any withdrawal of the measure more difficult. The delay of its issue for ten days is quite immaterial.

“ I have seen Muir on the subject of the Calcutta Board. It does not much smile to him, but he is quite ready to take the task. I think, though he did not say so, that he is afraid it would be a place of less real practical administrative authority than that which he now holds. He is not fond of Calcutta either.

“ Ever sincerely yours,
“ CANNING.”

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE HOT SEASON

As my father wrote to Bagehot, the thing that disturbed him most was the necessity for Mrs. Wilson to go away to the Madras Hills. Lady Canning wrote :

“SIMLA,
“ May 7th, 1860.

“ DEAR MR. WILSON,

“ I am so sorry to hear of Mrs. Wilson's failure in health. I am sure you were very wise in persuading her to go at once to the Nilgherries. It is a trying voyage and journey, but the delightful climate of those hills is almost a certain cure, and it is a far pleasanter country to stay in than this. The scenery is not nearly so wonderful, but there is much beauty in it, besides the merit of a bracing climate, and the comfort of moving about without being perpetually on a narrow road, with a wall of hill above and below, and hardly 100 yards of level walk and certainly not a level acre of ground. I think those hills far more healthy, but I believe I am not experienced enough to venture to give an opinion.

“ Lord Canning left me this morning and is on his way to the plains. I think he has quite got over the neuralgic pains in his head, which have plagued him so much, but I do not think the place did him much good. The comfort of working in so temperate a region was very great, still I think he will be glad to be back again in a central position and to be less dependent on Telegraphs. He would not hear of my accompanying him and I remain in these hills until the rains, when we always looked to returning to the South. I have great projects



VISCOUNTESS CANNING
From "The Story of Two Noble Lives."

however of seeing a good deal of the interior of this country.

"Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your speech, which I am exceedingly glad to possess in that shape. I think the measures announced in it will prosper, notwithstanding the undue opposition which has been so strongly brought to bear upon them, when the classes most concerned showed no disposition to object to the proposed taxation. The next few months will be a very anxious time.

"I think the Wallace designs are very beautiful, and I thank you much for sending them to me. As you have not yet ordered the design by Noel Paton for me, I think I may as well wait until I can see it at home.

"Yours sincerely,

"C. CANNING."

The same day on which my mother left Calcutta my father wrote to her :

"April 23, 1860.

"MY DEAR ELIZA,

"When I returned home I found you had left your watch. I send it to overtake you. I also found Lady Trevelyan's telegram. I believe rooms are already taken at the hotel for you ; and arrangements made for carriages. If you find that to be the case I would not alter your plans, but would send a note to Lady T. thanking her for her politeness but saying that other arrangements had already been made. But if you find that she has countermanded those arrangements, you will have no choice. If you can avoid it I would decline coming under any obligation. But perhaps you will not be able to do so. No doubt the House belongs to the Govt. and is kept up at the public expense. But I fear it will not be agreeable to you to accept her offer under the circumstances. Nevertheless it is attentive on her part and thank her for it.

"By this time you are in good fresh air and well down the river. I hope you will get there all safe."

" May 3, 1860.

" MY DEAREST ELIZA,

" . . . I have letters from Sir C. Wood. He had got my speech and expressed great admiration. He assures me of support in everything. The approval is very general. The Currency Scheme is also fully approved. But Trevelyan's conduct is doing no end of mischief here. Lord Canning has written in very strong terms both to Madras and to London. I am very curious to hear from you and very anxious also. We expected a telegram from Madras from you or Sir James Outram.

" You will observe that Walter has been asked to stand as the new representative of the London University. But I think he is right in declining it, if he cannot live in London.

" I am very busy writing for the two Mails—the Bombay one also goes off to-morrow. . . ."

" May 12, 1860.

" MY DEAREST ELIZA,

" I feel quite thankful that you have fallen into such good hands as those of Dr. Maclean. Pray do not run any risk as to going to the Hills—much better go home to England at once than run the risk that Mrs. Harrington did, and was obliged after all to go home. It would only be the difference between going now or in March, a difference no doubt very great to me, but not such as to allow the smallest risk to be run.

" Walter does not stand for the London University this time and I am glad of it. But it has paved the way for a future time.

" Lord Canning comes on the 20th."

" CALCUTTA,

" May 19, 1860.

" MY DEAR ELIZA,

" Dr. Maclean has cheered us all very much by his last telegram. We now hope that you will continue well and that on arriving in a cool climate you will be perfectly restored. I had been thrown into a great state of gloom by the prospect of your being obliged to

go home ; but at least for this year I hope I have escaped that danger.

"I have written to Sir Ch. Trevelyan and have expressed my gratitude to him and Lady T. for their attention to you. He has given us no end of trouble by his proceedings and will give us and himself still more. He has altered our position very much, but still we shall get on pretty well.

"Lord Canning comes to-morrow and goes to the Bishop's House till Govt. H. is ready. He holds a Levée on the 24th but no Ball. Col. Williams has written that he will be most happy to be of any service to you he can.

"I never was so closely engaged in my life. The work is very hard but very interesting."

My mother's first letter after leaving my father was from Marine Villa, Madras, May 19, 1860:

"MY DEAREST JAMES,

"Letters are so long in reaching that it appears to me an end of our correspondence. I got your telegram last Sunday. . . . I am very wishful to get away. . . . Dr. MacLean and Colonel Crewe have arranged the journey and managed to get us housed at every station except Vellore, to which place Colonel Crewe offers to escort us. I am still very weak though free from disease. . . . I see a very nice letter from the Rajah of Burdwan to you in the papers. Colonel Crewe now sends me the daily papers in which you and your measures occupy a considerable space. . . . I witnessed from this house this morning, *close* to the house, the killing of a *huge* cobra, when Sir C. Trevelyan must just have passed, for he is out by sunrise—half-past four. The servants were attracted by a flutter among the crows. It is the longest I ever saw, and we are close to Government House and in the heart of Madras. They are very common in Calcutta, besides also a very deadly small snake. The natives die in hundreds from their bite. . . ."

Sir Charles Trevelyan writes :

"MADRAS,
"25 May, 1860.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"It has been very gratifying to Lady Trevelyan and me to have been able to be of any use to Mrs. Wilson. She has steadily improved since she went to the Marine Villa, and when I had the pleasure of seeing her yesterday at the Birthday Parade, she looked as if she could safely undertake the journey to the Hills. We have arranged that a Medical Officer shall accompany her to Bangalore. We have frequently had the pleasure of seeing Miss Wilson, and she has delighted us and our Guests and instructed our Daughter by the exercise of her admirable musical talent. In the public differences which have arisen unfortunately between us, I feel as certain that you intended no personal disrespect to me as that I did not mean to be needlessly offensive in my first Minute, or in any subsequent Paper. It is impossible to engage in a public discussion, the responsibility of which is felt so deeply as to preclude the omission of any just and important argument, without being liable to give pain, but I have endeavoured to confine myself to what the cause in hand really required, and I entirely repudiate any intention of giving personal offence and much regret if I have unintentionally done so.

"Very faithfully yours,
"G. C. TREVELYAN."

"1, LITTLE RUSSELL ST.,
"June 3, 1860.

"MY DEAREST ELIZA,

"Everything goes on very regularly here. Since Lord Canning came down there has been a good deal going on. Lord Canning and Lord Clyde dined here yesterday week. The Lt.-Governor had been asked before, so we had a very suitable party. The Chief Justice, Sir B. and Lady Frere and some of the Staff of each. Nothing could be better assorted or go off better. All were highly pleased, and though quiet all were

perfectly at their ease. Lady Frere was greatly pleased. Lord Canning made himself very agreeable, and the old General was as happy and gay as a boy. As the Ladies had been done out of the Queen's Birthday Ball, at least for a time, we suggested giving one in the Town Hall in honour of Lord Clyde, and it was got up in no time and came off on Friday. In the meantime Sir H. Rose had arrived, and he and Lord Canning attended the ball. It was extremely pretty, I think the best ball I ever saw. Not too crowded but well got up, dresses and all. There have been a succession of dinners all the week at Govt. H. We all dined there on Wed^y. I dine there again to-morrow.

"The little baby¹ is thriving and gives no trouble and makes no noise. One does not know any difference in the house. It is very dark at present and has a quantity of hair.

"If anything I am busier than ever. This affair of Trevelyan's has given me no end of trouble. By the last Mail the Home Govt. had received the Minute but had no idea that it had been published ; that they would learn by the following mail. Yet notwithstanding they have sent one of the most severe reprimands to Trevelyan I ever saw in a public despatch. It is certain I think that he will be recalled at once and I fancy Sir H. Ward put in his place. But considering all things matters progress as well or better than I could expect. It is uphill work, but that I expected. I keep my health well and do not feel the heat much. The days they say are very hot but the nights are cooler than when you left. . . ."

Lord Clyde, the happy and gay old General, in accepting the invitation to the ball given in his honour wrote :

Private

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"It is difficult for an old man to decline so complimentary an invitation. I shall have great pleasure

¹ My sister Sophie's first child was born May 25.

in accepting the very great honour it is proposed to confer on me by inviting me to this Ball.

“Very truly yours,
“CLYDE.

“May 28, Monday.”

“8 June, 1860.

“MY DEAR JAMES,

“I find we cannot get our apartments at Dawson’s till after the 25th. Someone has got into them *who will not* leave till then. I am very much disappointed as I wish to be settled. Since the 23 April we have been on the move. As it happens we are better placed than we should have been anywhere else on the road, the climate is delightful, standing at 74, and the General (Cubbon) appears very well pleased to have us, and the ladies are very nice. The house is Liberty Hall, but still the party at table is too much for me, and I am glad to stay away from dinner. You should see Sir T. Monro’s Minutes on the liberty of the Press in India, in his life by Rev. G. B. Gleig. Both Lord Canning and the General (the latter is quite an oracle on Indian affairs and his administration has been most successful) agree with him. The General says that the Govt. press improvements too quickly on the people who are so slow and suspicious of innovations. They are not sufficiently advanced for a free Press, and certainly the Press in Madras has acted like wildfire among the natives ; on the income tax the natives from time immemorial have had *two* sets of accounts. The General expects by this mail a decision on the annexation of Mysore to the Madras Presidency. He would not serve under Sir Ch. Trevelyan, and under any circumstances only waits a successor. . . . He has been *sixty* years in India without going home, and been Com^r of Mysore twenty-six years.

“June 9. The Gen. (General Mark Cubbon) received the news by telegram of the Governor’s recall, and drank a glass of champagne, *which he is not allowed to do*, to the good news, and he read part of a letter to me

this morning saying that if Sir Charles was not recalled that both you and Lord Canning would resign. He did not give the authority, but I see by the Home News what mischief is doing. The tobacco tax has been in operation here from time immemorial, and the revenue of Mysore has increased under the General's administration from four hundred thousand to a million yearly.

"*June 11.* I have just read your speech of June 2 and think it must tell on the public mind. It is very powerful and is thought very convincing here. I weary very much for letters, and although I cannot encounter another hot season, I feel very much being out of the family circle. . . . Sir C. Trevelyan's position is very humiliating; they say, Lady and Miss T. were packing up to go to the Hills, the heat has been so excessive at Madras, 107° in the shade, and people dying from it. We are better off here than at the Hills, being colder, and they have had more rain. I wear my woollen shawl, and have a little warm water in my bath.

"*June 13.* The Rajah of Mysore fired 40 rounds on the news of the Governor's recall, 21 being a royal salute. . . . We shall return with the General to Bangalore, and remain with him till it is time to move on to Dr. Campbell's, where we rest a few days, getting to the hills the end of the month. . . . I feel stronger since I have been here and the feverish feeling is only just leaving me. Have you been able to think of the arrangements necessary for Julia and Emilie? The time is getting on, and if they come out something should be fixed.

"*June 18.* I have been reading the English papers, so full of Trevelyan, half the night, he has certainly caused you great difficulties and marred the success you would otherwise have obtained. He is much disliked here, but then he wished Mysore to be under the Madras Presidency. The Rajah appealed against being under a subordinate Govt., urging his fidelity and the prosperity of the district—he is under Bengal.

"ELIZA."

" CALCUTTA,
" 19th June, 1860.

" MY DEAR ELIZA,

" It has been a source of great pleasure to us to receive such cheerful accounts from you.

" With regard to Mysore, the Home Government have cancelled their former orders, and it has to remain under the Supreme Government as heretofore. The despatch came by the last mail. Lord Canning and all of us are extremely anxious that General Cubbon¹ should remain. We feel that his presence is a great source of strength to us, especially after what happened at Madras. It will really be a national calamity if he were to insist upon resigning now. Lord Canning writes to him by this mail. We really attach the greatest importance to his remaining.

" The recall of Sir Charles Trevelyan so promptly—even before they had our reply to his Minute—has produced a great effect here ; and has modified, if not put an end to the opposition to *my* taxes as they are called. The appointment of Sir H^y Ward has given great satisfaction. It would be very agreeable to me to find him there when I go to join you. He is to leave Galle about July 1 and will be at Madras about the 3rd in a special steamer. . . ."

" CALCUTTA,
" 19 June, 1860.

" MY DEAR ELIZA,

" You seem to be quite at home at Gen^l Cubbon's and to be enjoying yourselves much.

" Lord Canning and all of us are extremely anxious that Gen^l Cubbon should remain. We feel that his presence is a great source of strength to us, especially

¹ " Sir Mark Cubbon was the son of a Manx parson. He went to India as a cadet, and in 1834 was Commissioner of Mysore. He administered that province of 5,000,000 people with four European helpers at a cost of £13,000 a year. His state remained perfectly tranquil through the Mutiny. Few statesmen or rulers have been more beloved. Sir Mark died at Suez in 1861 on his homeward voyage, and he is buried in Manghold Churchyard, close to the vicarage where he was born."—Agnes Herbert's *Isle of Man*.

after what has happened at Madras. It would really be a national calamity if he were to insist upon resigning now.

"The rains began last week and the air was very damp. I had an attack but Dr. Macrae soon subdued it, and I am now again quite well, taking quinine and port wine every day.

"I never was so hard worked but everything goes on well and cheerfully. Lord Canning is very agreeable to work with, and nothing can be better than Frere. Sir Js. Outram is expected back any day.

"JAMES."

My father was so absorbed in the intense interest of his work that he would often converse even with young ladies on it. Lady Strachey, a daughter of Sir John Peter Grant and the widow of General Sir George Strachey, writes :

"I have always been glad to remember that I came into contact with your father when in India though for a very short time ; and how proud I was of his thinking it worth while to walk up and down the verandah, talking on the most serious topics with so young a girl as I then was."

"MY DEAR ELIZA,

[After pages of minute and careful consideration as to whether my sister and I should come out to India my father writes :] "The weather here is fresher since the rains and the evenings are very agreeable. But we are working very hard. The Council meets every Monday at 7 to 10, besides Saturdays, to get through the bills before it. Everything is going on satisfactorily. Lord Canning is very agreeable in matters of business, and we get on very well. We have a number of important measures in hand.

"Sir James Outram returned from Galle by the last steamer. I am afraid he is no better. He goes to England on the 18th on privilege leave, but I don't think he will return.

"In public matters I am getting on very well, and since the recall of Sir C. Trevelyan everything has assumed a more settled appearance. . . ."

Sir James Outram wrote the following to my mother on her return to England :

"3, CONNAUGHT PLACE,
"29 Oct. 1860.

"MY DEAR MRS. WILSON,

"I am rejoiced to find you have arrived. No one can more sincerely sympathise with you in your bereavement than myself and it has grieved me very much to think that I may have partially increased Mr. Wilson's burdens latterly by going away when I did. Had I anticipated his illness I would have held on at any risk. I need not tell you that I deem his loss a national calamity, while I grieve for the departure of a friend I revered. May God support you under the affliction.

"Believe me very sincerely yours,

"J. OUTRAM."

CHAPTER XXXV

FAILING HEALTH

DR. MACRAE had been watching my father's condition of health very anxiously from the time the hot season began ; so soon as the rainy season set in he recognised danger signals, and urged my father most strongly to leave Calcutta for a healthier climate. My father, however, would not listen to him. He would not desert his post there till he had, as far as possible, undone the mischief caused by the Madras rebellion, and brought his measures so far to completion that they could be laid before and passed by the Council. He had daily intercourse with Lord Canning, in whom he found in every sense a satisfactory and sympathetic colleague.

"For some time after his arrival in India, he (Mr. Wilson) seemed scarcely to feel the climate. He certainly did not feel it as much as might have been anticipated. He worked extremely hard ; scarcely wrote a private letter, but devoted the whole of his great energies to the business around him. His letters for a considerable time abounded with such expressions as 'Notwithstanding all my hard work my health is excellent.' From the commencement of the rainy season at Calcutta, however, he ceased to be equally well, his state began to arouse the apprehensions of experienced observers, and he was warned that he should retire for a short time to a better climate. He would not, however, do so until his financial measures had advanced sufficiently far for him to leave them. His position was a very peculiar one. In general, if one administrator leaves his post, another is

found to fill it up. But Mr. Wilson was a unique man at Calcutta. He was sent there because he had certain special qualifications which no one there possessed ; and, accordingly, he had no one to rely on in his peculiar functions save himself. His presence on the spot was likewise very important. The administration of a department can be frequently transacted by letter, but the organisation of new departments and new schemes requires the unremitting attention of the organiser—the impulse of his energy. The interest too, which Mr. Wilson took in public business was exceptionally great, and no one who knew him well would suppose that *he* would leave Calcutta while necessary work, or what he deemed so, was to be done there.

“Nor was labour the sole trial to which his constitution was exposed. The success of measures so extensive as his, must ever be a matter of anxious doubt until the event decides ; and in his case there were some momentary considerations to aggravate that anxiety. There was no experience of such taxation as he had proposed, and the effect of it must therefore be difficult to foresee. Moreover, for a brief period, famine seemed to be imminent in Upper India, which must have disturbed the whole operation of his financial schemes. In his debilitated state of health this last source of anxiety seemed to weigh upon him.”¹

In the middle of the night of May 21 Lord Canning arrived at Government House, Calcutta. At 1 o'clock A.M. he writes to my father :

“MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

“Very many thanks for your note. It has just greeted me on my arrival. I shall be delighted to see you. Eleven o'clock is the time that will best suit me. You will find Sir Bartle Frere here—as I have asked him to come at 10½ that we may renew our acquaintance less formally than by an immediate rush into our business.

¹ *Memoir.*

" I sincerely hope you have better accounts of Mrs. Wilson than when you last wrote.

" Ever sincerely yours,
" CANNING.

" THE RT. HON. JAMES WILSON."

This was the first of notes that passed almost daily between Government House and 1, Russell Street, my father's residence in Calcutta.

" GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
" June 9, 1860.

" MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

" I heard this morning from Frere of your being interdicted from leaving the house, and with great sorrow. Pray do not be insubordinate to Dr. Macrae. It does not do to treat ailments in this country, however slight they may be, as though one was comfortably in Belgravia. Recovery from anything serious is terribly uphill work, I assure you."

(Sir Henry Ward, who was appointed to fill Sir C. Trevelyan's place at Madras, had hoped to have had Bombay and rather dreaded the reception he would be accorded in Madras, replacing a Governor who had encouraged the people to resist taxation.)

" I return Sir H. Ward's letter. I think Sir Hugh Rose knows pretty much how the matter stood as to Bombay ; certainly that Ward had had a disappointment about it.

" It is as good an arrangement as could have been made at home, and I don't think that Sir Henry Ward will find the embarrassment to *himself personally* so great as he anticipates. [Referring to Sir C. Trevelyan's misdemeanour.] It is India at large and this Government that has suffered. . . . As to the Bombay Madras letter. I think that the Customs question should be treated apart from the conspiracy question. Indeed, as regards the latter, I think the notice should be very mild—if there be any. There was nothing on the part of Bombay which that Government did not avow openly

and above board, and there is danger, especially in the present temper of the two Governments that by noticing the matter we may only turn their inter-communications into a more private shape which would be quite as mischievous and more intangible. It is not possible, even if it were desirable, to stop their concerting together, if they think it useful to themselves, and concert in which there is nothing concealed is the best. . . . We must continue to keep Trevelyan's recall a secret.

"Sincerely yours,
"CANNING.

"THE RT. HON. JAS. WILSON."

Ever since Sir George Trevelyan's insubordinate opposition to the Government measures there had been a private correspondence carried on between Lord Canning, my father and Sir C. Wood in order to decide what measures could be taken to rectify the mischief done. It was decided that it was imperative to recall Sir C. Trevelyan, but naturally this decision had to be kept secret till the papers recalling him had reached Sir Charles Trevelyan himself.

Referring to the Home Indian Department Lady Canning writes :

"May 15th, 1860.

"I do hope our new taxes and Mr. Wilson will be supported."

On July 24 Lord Canning writes a letter to my father thirty-seven pages long.

"GT. HOUSE.

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"Many thanks for Sir Henry Ward's letter which I return. His letter to me, which came later (by land post) was written in rather better heart as regards his future difficulties. I will send it to you to-day or to-morrow—when I have answered it."

(Lord Canning then enters into the chief subject of

his letter which was raised at that time especially owing to Sir Charles Trevelyan's act of insubordination—namely the exact relationship that existed, and the communications past and present that took place between the Central Government and the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. After going into much detail on these subjects, Lord Canning writes:)

“ Let me add a word upon more general matters. I am opposed to the use of a tone of apology, or even to palpable conciliation in the Official Government of India. It is quite right to correct our errors, and improve our practices ; but it is a mistake, I think, to put too much of abstract professions into these formal papers. It tends to defeat a part of the object at which I aim ; which is to give confidence and good humour to the subordinate Governments, but at the same time to uphold our own—I will not say—infallibility, but—unquestionability to the utmost. . . . I have written this long yarn in the shape of a private letter and not as an Official Note, because I do not wish it to be deposited in the Office. But perhaps you will send it on to Sir Bartle Frere.

“ Ever yours sincerely,
“ CANNING.

“ THE RT. HON. JAS. WILSON.”

“ GT. H., July 15/60.

“ MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

“ Pray make use of Barrackpore—only, instead of a Bungalow consider Government House at your service. Lady Canning has talked of stopping there, and not coming on to Calcutta, but she *could* not, even if she comes by Rail, be there before the middle of next week (the 24th or 25th)—and she would, you may be sure, willingly change her plan.

The House is cooler than the Bungalows—and the only one of the latter in which you would be comfortable (except the Flag Staff one, to which the Commander-in-Chief (Sir Hugh Rose) is going on the 19th) is Campbell's,

and that is still unrepaired. I am very glad that you are reconciled to a change of air : I have more than once found it beneficial, even without gaining anything in temperature, but I beg you, whether in or out of Calcutta, to give up that noxious practice of habitually working at night. Really it will not do. . . .

“ Sincerely yours,
“ CANNING.”

To my mother :

“ CALCUTTA,
“ *July 9, 1860.*

“ MY DEAREST ELIZA,

“ I have had a sharp attack. The disease is subdued but I am very weak and we have now the repairing process to begin. Perfect quiet and everything as nourishing as possible.

“ I have taken my place in the steamer of the 23rd and hope I shall be able to go—but you will get telegrams from day to day.

“ I would, my dear Eliza, say how much I had missed you at this time only that I know it would still more make you regret an unavoidable absence.

“ With love to Tilly.

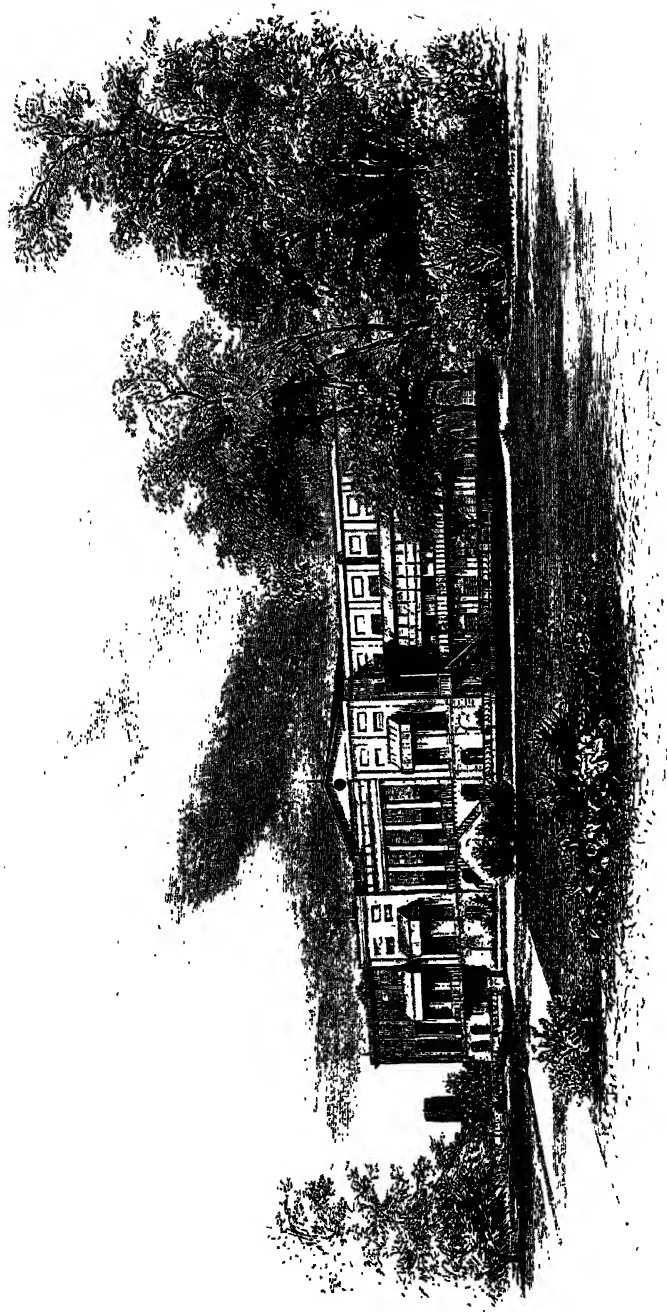
“ My dearest Eliza, I am,
“ Your own JAMES.”

Before going to Barrackpore my father wrote :

“ CALCUTTA,
“ *19 July, 1860.*

“ MY DEAR ELIZA,

“ I hope you have at length got comfortably settled at Outacamund, and that you liked it as much as the other places. I shall be very happy if Emmy and Julia could come out, and you to remain even on the condition of going every hot weather to the hills. I feel I have you much nearer to me than if you were in England, and at least I could manage to be with you six months in the year here. I hope you have decided to tell them to



THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S HOUSE, BARRACKPORE.
From "The Story of Two Noble Lives."

come out, subject of course to Emmy's constitutional weakness.

"Mrs. Brandreth has sent your necklace and earrings from Delhi—the cost is £16. I hope you will like them. Sir James Outram has brought you a beautiful inlaid box from Singapore.

"I was not well last week but am now much better. The damp rains brought on a disorganisation of the liver, but it has quite disappeared, though I am a little weak. We go to Govt. House, Barrackpore, tonight to stay till Monday. I expect that will quite set me up. I find the best thing is to abstain entirely from wine. I am taking quinine which does me great good.

"We are getting on very well with our business matters here. Lady Canning is expected on Tuesday."

My father wrote to Bagehot from Barrackpore, July 19 :

"The Indian Exchequer is a huge machine. The English Treasury is nothing to it for complexity, diversity, and remoteness of the points of action. Our great enemies are time and distance, and with all our frontier territories there is scarcely a day passes that we have not an account of some row or inroad. It is a most unwieldy Empire to be governed on the principle of forcing civilisation at every point of it. One day it is the frontier of Scinde and a quarrel with our native chiefs, which our Resident must check ; another it is an intrigue between Herat and Cabul, with a report of Russian forces in the background ; the next there is a raid upon our Punjab frontiers to be chastised ; then come some accounts of coolness, or misunderstanding, or unreasonable demands from our ally in Nepaul ; then follow some inroads from the savage tribes which inhabit the mountains to the rear of Assam and up the Burrampootra ; then we have reported brawls in Burmah and Pegu, and disputes among the hill tribes whose relations to the British and the Burmah Governments are ill-defined ; then we have Central India, with our loyal

chiefs Scindiah and Holkar, independent princes with most turbulent populations, which could not be kept in order a day without the presence of British troops and of the Governor-General's Agent. Besides all these, we have among ourselves a thousand questions of internal administration, rendered more difficult by the ill-defined relations between the Supreme and the Subordinate Governments—the latter always striving to encroach, the former to hold its own. Hence, questions do not come before us simply on their merits, but often as involving these doubtful rights. Then we have Courts of Justice to reform, as well as all other institutions of a domestic kind not to reform alone, but to extend to new territories. Then we have a deficit of £7,000,000, and had a Government teaching the people that all could be done without new taxes. But unfortunately all, except the taxes, are a present certainty—they are a future contingency. What will they yield? I have no precise knowledge. I think from three to four millions a year when in full bloom : this financial year not more than a million.

"I have now got a Military Finance Commission in full swing ; a Civil Finance Commission also going : I am reorganising the Finance Pay, and Accountant-General's Department, in order to get all the advantage of the English system of estimates, Pay Office, and Audit :—and this with as little disturbance of existing plans as possible. The latter is a point I have especially aimed at. On the whole, and almost without an exception, I have willing allies in all the existing offices. No attempt that I see is anywhere made to thwart or impede.

"You can well understand, then, how full my hands are, if to all these you add the new currency arrangements ; you will not then wonder that my health has rendered it necessary to come down here for a day or two to get some fresh air."

My sister Julia was half-hearted as to going to India. For some reasons she wished to remain in England and for others she wished to go. I was whole-hearted in my longing to go. On July 19, 1860, my

father wrote a separate letter to each of my sisters in England and myself.

“BARRACKPORE,
“*July 19th, 1860.*

“MY DEAR ELIZA,

“It was quite cheering to have but half a sheet from you by the last mail. I shall be very sorry to deprive you of Julia and Pips, but still I am selfish enough to hope that circumstances will combine to enable them to come. . . . As you say I don't think the Trevelyan affair has done me any harm, but the contrary, in England:—but there is no doubt it has given us a great shock among the natives here. Up to the time of those Minutes appearing, all Europeans showed a combined and united front, and that had a great effect upon the natives. Had that not been disturbed they would never have ventured even to think of opposition. As it is, that moral power and restraint has been removed, and what was like a charm has been broken. Certainly all that could have been done to counteract the effect has been done. On the instant here, we declared our undiminished determination to proceed with our plans, and the prompt recall of Trevelyan gave all the support to that determination we could have desired. For a bad job, the best has been made of it. But the task is heavy and I fear a long one.

“Write to me frequently; it is a great pleasure to receive your letters:—I cannot write often. Remember me to the good people at Langport, to Sir Arthur and other old friends. With love to you all, always your affectionate Papa,

“JAMES WILSON.”

“BARRACKPORE,
“*July 19th, 1860.*

“MY DEAR EMY,

“I hear you are much disappointed at the thought of not coming out. I assure you we shall be, and especially myself, as much so, if you do not come.

We all looked forward to November with great pleasure ! but Mamma's inability to stand the hot weather may oblige us to change our plans. As you already know, everything much depends on how far a residence in the hills in the hot weather and the rains will enable her to remain in the country. If she decides that it will not, she will go to England about March next year, and Zeno and Tilly will go with her, leaving me alone with Sophie and William. In that case I suppose she will make an arrangement to live in some nice place in England and have you all with her. I should recommend Clifton for at least a part of the year to be near Eliza.

"However I am still in hopes she may be able to remain. So far the Hills agree very well with her and she seems to have enjoyed herself very much—but even in that case there is a doubt about your coming out, but that must be left to the doctors to decide. We must not run any risk with so precious a little life. I am glad to hear you are going on with your Italian, harp and drawing. There is only one lady in Calcutta who has a harp and uses it, and she is obliged to solder it up in a case at the beginning of the rains every year, and unsolder it again for the cold and hot weather.

"Whatever arrangement is for the best you will be reconciled to. Let me hear from you.

"Your affectionate Papa,

"JAMES WILSON."

These letters were the last we received from my father. He returned to Calcutta to continue "tremendous work."

On July 28 Sir Bartle Frere writes :

"MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

"I am afraid you have been breaking the rules which Macrae, and all prudent people wish to impose on you, and that you have been sitting up at night and doing all sorts of indiscreet things. You really must be content to do less, that you may be able to do it for a longer period.

"Many thanks for these very interesting letters. The Resolution, as it stands, will do much, but not all that is needed to disabuse the minor Presidencies of the belief that the Govt. of India is composed of their national enemies. We adjourned the L.C. to 5½ on Tuesday, which I understood from Sir B. Peacock would suit you. I hope by to-morrow you will feel quite well again.

"Every sincerely yours,

"H. B. E. FRERE."

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE END

FIVE days after receiving this letter, on August 2, my father was taken ill. My sisters and William Halsey dined at Government House and had to take the news that my father was too unwell to accompany them. Next morning Lord Canning wrote :

“ GOVT. HOUSE,
“ 3rd Aug. 1860.

“ MY DEAR MR. WILSON,

“ I am truly grieved to hear of your being less well. I was afraid from what was told me last night that it might be so. *Pray* take care of yourself, and listen to reason and common prudence.

“ I will come to you whenever you are *really* well enough to talk over matters (which will of course be before you can think of leaving your room)—but I will not come an hour before Dr. Macrae sanctions my doing so.

“ Ever most sincerely yours,
“ CANNING.”

On the 3rd and 4th my father's illness was under control, but Dr. Macrae pronounced it to be bad dysentery. On the 6th it was still under control.

On August 7 my father telegraphed to my mother at Outacamund : “ Answer what you do about the young ladies coming out—Mrs. Macrae's letter says nothing. Have been unwell, but am a great deal better, and hope to get to sea by the 23rd—more by steamer.”

On the 7th he felt so much better that he said he meant to astonish the doctors by a rapid recovery, but

on the 8th the doctors said the disease was assuming its worst form, but that change of air might possibly do good, and in the evening he was moved to Doctor Macrae's house, which was in a healthier position than his own. However, on the 9th he weakened rapidly and insisted on the doctors informing him of his exact condition. They told him that he was in great danger, but that they did not despair. He fully recognised that in all probability he could not recover, and "with calmness prepared for death" and wrote to my mother.¹

My father then sent for Lord Canning, who described the interview in a letter to Sir Charles Wood.

Earl Canning to Sir C. Wood.

" 12 Aug. 1860. Recd. 19 Sept. 1860.

"The sad news of poor Wilson's death will have reached you by telegraph. It was rather sudden at the last, for he rallied a little after I closed my last letter (Aug. 9), and some of those about him still had hope: but on the following day he sank rapidly, and all was over.

"I saw him on the 9th. It appeared to me then that death was in his face; but he was not very weak. He talked chiefly about some private arrangements, and then a little about public matters—the Currency Bill, the Military Finance Commission, etc. I was by his bedside for a quarter of an hour, at the end of which time he got exhausted. He said that he knew how it must end; and I could say no more in dispute of this than that his doctor had told me in the morning that a return of strength might show itself in the course of the next two days, and that if so, his life might still be safe. He *was* stronger the next day, but it was only for a few hours. A bad night followed, and on the 11th he died. I was much struck by the tone in which he spoke of public matters;—not a word of self, or of his own name, or share in the work in hand; and yet with great hopefulness of the success of most of the machinery which he has set at work. It was very touching."

¹ These details were written to us by those on the spot.

One who was with my father during those last days wrote : " Lord Canning feels it deeply ; no one here has ever seen him so much moved." He expressed a wish to attend the funeral as chief mourner, but William Halsey claimed that privilege as being my father's son-in-law.

Both Lord and Lady Canning had become much attached to my father. Lady Canning wrote to her mother :

" Calcutta, August 8th, 1860. I think people will hardly believe what a loss Mr. Wilson is to us. He worked so hard and was most pleasant to deal with."

And again :

" August 21st. Poor Mr. Wilson's death was a great distress, for we really liked him, and he is a terrible loss to his work, in which he delighted with all his heart."

Queen Victoria wrote to Sir Charles Wood on hearing of Lord Elgin's death :

" India must really not be the grave of all our best men, and Sir C. Wood should seriously consult medical men as to the best seat of Government, and as to the amount of work which a man can or cannot bear."

The Queen wrote my mother an autograph letter on the occasion of her bereavement. It was stolen some years later under very curious circumstances.

Clearly on the Thursday the end was in sight, and my mother and four of his children far distant ! The pathos of it !

On the following day he was in great pain and morphia was administered.

" The answer to the telegram he sent Mamma about your coming out arrived. On hearing it he said : ' My daughters '—his last greeting to us ! He was feverish and exhausted the following night : he said he knew he should not live another 24 hours.

" The next day, August 11th, he had strong fever—and again morphia was given.

" In the morning he sent for Dr. and Mrs. Macrae,

and, taking their hands in his, thanked them warmly for all their care and attention. He said he knew all that could be done had been done. About 3 P.M. he murmured 'Take care of my Income Tax.'"¹

Before becoming unconscious his last thought and act were for my mother. Her lover he had never ceased to be. He fell asleep at 4 o'clock, and the end came before 7.

He had faced death fearlessly, having firm reliance on the guidance of the Ruler above all rulers, ever his stronghold through life.

* * * * *

From Calcutta, 12 August, 9 o'clock, the following telegraphic despatches were sent to "Mrs. Wilson—Outacamund :

" To all Stations.

" Mr. Wilson, the member of Council, died last night at seven o'clock and will be buried this evening."

* * * * *

" The mourning at Calcutta was more universal than had ever been remembered. He had not long been in India ; he had done so much, that there were necessarily doubts in the minds of some of the expediency of part of it. No such doubts, however, were thought of now. ' That he should have come out to die here ! ' ' That he should have left a great English career *for this* ! ' were the phrases in everyone's mouth. The funeral was the

¹ Extracts from letters to my sisters and myself.

largest ever known in Calcutta. It was attended by almost the entire population, from the Governor-General downwards, and not a single voice on any ground whatever, dissented from the general grief.”¹

“At 5.30 yesterday afternoon the funeral of the Right Hon. James Wilson took place. The funeral *cortège* which assembled to pay the last tribute of respect seemed to comprise almost the entire male European population, and many of the natives of rank and influence in Calcutta. The son-in-law of the deceased gentleman was the chief mourner, supported by Dr. Macrae, who had been his principal medical attendant ; then followed his Excellency the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, the Lieutenant-Governor, the judges and the other members of the executive and Legislative Council and a long procession, in which the military, the law, the merchants, bankers, and commercial classes all bore witness, in their grave demeanour, to the general esteem in which Mr. Wilson had been held, and the universal sense of the importance of the loss sustained in his death. It was a subject of remark how greatly Dr. Macrae appeared to be borne down by the sad responsibility thrown upon him during the last few weeks as Mr. Wilson’s medical adviser ; but it was known that while all that skill and unwearied kindness could do for Mr. Wilson was done by Dr. Macrae, to whose house he had been removed, and by the medical gentleman who came to his assistance, still the resolution with which Mr. Wilson refused to leave Calcutta and the great work he had in hand, until too far gone to permit of his removal, exonerates his medical attendants from any possible shade of blame in the matter ; and indeed, so much was done to sustain his failing strength, that it was not until the morning of the day on which he died, that all hope was relinquished. While leaving the sad scene we heard more than once the remark, ‘ We do not yet realise how much we have lost.’ ”²

¹ *Memoir*, Walter Bagehot.

² *Calcutta Englishman*, August 13.

Sir Richard Temple writes : " As the coffin was lowered, there stood around his grave one of the most important and varied assemblages that had ever been seen in that place. The strings of carriages, carrying sorrowful spectators, covered more than two miles of the road leading to the burial-ground. That Sabbath was a day of mourning, and in every church of the city allusion was made from the pulpit to the solemn lesson conveyed to the community by the sudden demise of one among the foremost citizens of the Empire.

" On a retrospect of that stirring and eventful time, the mind at first hardly realises that these broadly laid plans embracing, with a comprehensive policy, vast affairs and varied subjects, were all crowded by Wilson into the brief space of eight months. A view of these proceedings will help us to imagine what great things a man, who did so much in a few months, would have accomplished had he been spared for a few years. Between December and July, he introduced for the first time in India a financial budget framed upon the English model—inspired the public mind with fresh confidence—brought together the threads of finance which had been broken and scattered by a military and political convulsion—proposed to the legislature three new taxes and carried one of them, the income-tax, through several stages in the Legislative Council—devised a scheme for the Government paper currency—stimulated the operations of the Military Finance Commission over the entire range of army expenditure—caused arrangements to be begun for reorganising the whole police of the empire—reviewed the existing system of audit and account—besides discharging the multifarious duties devolving on a finance minister and a member of the general government. All this was compassed by him immediately on landing in an utterly strange country amidst an alien people, and further was carried on with unabated vigour despite the depression caused by a tropical climate."

The first letter of condolence my mother received

after her bereavement was from Sir Bartle Frere, my father's very staunch ally and intimate friend :

" CALCUTTA,

" Aug. 22, 1860.

" MY DEAR MRS. WILSON,

" I dare hardly intrude on you even with the expression of our deep sympathy with your sorrow. But when all classes of our countrymen here are mourning our public loss, I cannot but add one word of our private and personal feeling of sorrow—both with and for you. I know how vain are any words of consolation for grief such as yours, but it is something to feel that the whole body of our countrymen sorrow with you—and we must trust to God's good time for the rest. . . .

" Yours very sincerely

" H. BARTLE E. FRERE."

The following paragraph concluded the obituary leader that appeared in *The Times* :

" We can find men to fill the Government of Madras, in whose ability to discharge its duties with prudence and vigour we can feel every confidence, but we look in vain for the man whom we should place in the situation which, by the consent of all, Mr. Wilson was thoroughly competent to fill. . . . No worthier panegyric can be passed on the public servant we have lost than this—that he has gone, and left no successor."

The official announcement of my father's death was forwarded to us.

" To the RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR CHARLES WOOD, BART., G.C.B.,

" Secretary of State for India.

" Sir, the painful task is imposed upon us of announcing to Her Majesty's Government the death of our colleague, the Right Honourable James Wilson.

" 2. This lamentable event took place on the evening of Saturday, the 11th, after an illness of a few days.

" 3. We enclose a copy of the notification by which we yesterday communicated the mournful intelligence to



STATUE ERECTED AT CALCUTTA

ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὐχομαι εἶναι

the public. The funeral took place at the time mentioned in the notification ; and the great respect in which our lamented colleague was held was evinced by a very large attendance of the general community, in addition to the public officers, civil and military.

“ 4. We are unable adequately to express our sense of the great loss which the public interests have sustained in Mr. Wilson’s death. We do not doubt, however, that this will be as fully appreciated by Her Majesty’s Government as it is by ourselves, and as we have every reason to believe it will be by the community generally throughout India.

“ 5. But we should not satisfy our feelings in communicating this sad occurrence to Her Majesty’s Government, if we did not state our belief that the fatal disease which has removed Mr. Wilson from amongst us was in a degree the consequence of his laborious application to the duties of his high position, of his conscientious determination not to cease from the prosecution of the important measures of which he had charge until their success was ensured. Actuated by a self-denying devotion to the objects for which he came out to this country, Mr. Wilson continued to labour indefatigably long after the general state of his health had become such as to cause anxiety to the physician who attended him, and it was within a few days only after the Income Tax had become law, and when, at the earnest request of his medical adviser, he was preparing to remove from Calcutta for the remainder of the rainy season, that he was seized with the illness that has carried him off.

“ 6. It is our sincere conviction that this eminent public servant sacrificed his life in the discharge of his duty.

“ We have, etc.

“ CANNING.

“ H. B. E. FRERE.

“ C. BEADON.

“ FORT WILLIAM,
“ 13th August, 1860.”

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